The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

Christ the Hope of the World
By Robert L. Calhoun

Adventure in Futility
An Editorial

Forgotten in Berlin
By Stewart W. Herman

Though the House Fall
Editorial Correspondence from Iraq

DECEMBER 9, 1953

In This Issue

ROBERT L. CALHOUN

is professor of historical theology at Yale Divinity School and the author of many books in that field. Dr. Calhoun is a member of the advisory commission of theologians which has prepared the report on the major theme of the 1954 Assembly of the World Council of Churches, "Christ—the Hope of the World." His article is the fifth in the series appearing in this paper on issues to be discussed at Evanston, written by theological leaders from many countries and communions. Previous articles in the series were contributed by W. A. Visser 't Hooft (Aug. 19), Eivind Berggrav (Sept. 16), Theodore O. Wedel (Oct. 28) and Basil Ioannidis (Nov. 18). Next article in the series will be by Ralph D. Hyslop and Lesslie Newbigin. Articles at monthly intervals will follow until next August.

A. J. MUSTE

is executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, with offices at 21 Audubon Ave., New York 32. Most of our readers are familiar with Mr. Muste's long career in the labor movement and Christian ministry, during part of which he was director of the Labor Temple, Presbyterian church in New York.

STEWART W. HERMAN

is executive secretary of the Lutheran program in Latin America, and has been named as one of the delegates from the United Lutheran Church to the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Christian Century readers became familiar with Mr. Herman's writing when he was pastor of the American Church in Berlin before the war, and later when engaged in relief work in Germany for the World Council and the Lutheran World Federation.

VANCE GEIER

is minister of Little Farms Evangelical and Reformed Church, New Orleans, and becomes the Century's staff correspondent for Louisiana.

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Coming Events

Dec. 8-10. National Council of Churches Joint Department of Stewardship and Benevolence Semiannual Meeting, Toronto.
Dec. 9-12. N.C.C. Division of Foreign Missions Annual Assembly, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
Dec. 13. Universal Bible Sunday.
Dec. 13. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Ralph W. Sockman, speaker.
Dec. 13. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Conference, Logan Creek, Mo.
Dec. 13-16. N.C.C. Division of Home Missions Annual Assembly, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
Dec. 14-16. Southern Baptist Convention Conventionwide Planning Conferences, Nashville.
Dec. 15. Institute for Religious and Social Studies, New York city; themes: "The Meaning of History," "Religion and Social Welfare," "New Horizons"; Thurston N. Davis, Katherine F. Lenroot, Walter Kerr, speakers.
Dec. 16. Methodist Council of Secretaries, Chicago.
Dec. 20. Chicago Sunday Evening Club Choir Christmas concert.
Dec. 20. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Presentation of Handel's *Messiah*, C.B.S. network.
Dec. 25. Christmas Day.
Dec. 27. Chicago Sunday Evening Club: E. Stanley Jones, speaker.
Dec. 28-30. 8th Annual Anglican Seminary Conference, Austin, Tex.
Dec. 28-Jan. 2. Methodist Student Movement 5th Quadrennial Conference, Lawrence, Kan.; Newell S. Booth, Harold Ehrensperger, Nels F. S. Ferré, John O. Gross, Philippe Maury, Glenn Olds, Albert Outler, Ralph W. Sockman, Donald H. Tippett, speakers.
Dec. 29-Jan. 1. Presbyterian Church, U.S., 5th Quadrennial Youth Convention, Auburn, Ala.; James A. Jones, Kenneth Scott Latourette, John A. Mackay, Charles B. Templeton, speakers.
Jan. 3. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Richard C. Raines, speaker.
Jan. 3-5. International Platform Association Washington Speakers Conference on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 5-8. Religious Television Workshop (N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission, State and Local Councils), Cincinnati.
Jan. 3-10. Universal Week of Prayer.
Jan. 4-7. Presbyterian, U.S.A., National Commission on Evangelism, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
Jan. 5. Institute for Religious and Social Studies, New York city; themes: "The Meaning of History," "Religion and Social Welfare," "New Horizons"; Thurston N. Davis, Catherine Lee Wahlstrom, Harold D. Lasswell, speakers.
Jan. 5-6. N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission Annual Meeting, New York city.
Jan. 5-12. National Christian Teaching Mission (N.C.C. Joint Department of Evangelism), Spokane, Wash.
Jan. 10. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Paul E. Scherer, speaker.
Jan. 12. Institute for Religious and Social Studies, New York city; themes: "The Meaning of History," "Religion and Social Welfare," "New Horizons"; Salo W. Baron, Otis R. Rice, Albert Hofstadter, speakers.
Jan. 18-25. Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.
Jan. 18. Religious Radio Institute (N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission), Parkersburg, W. Va.
Jan. 17-23. Church and Economic Life Week (N.C.C. Department of Church and Economic Life).

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXX CHICAGO, DECEMBER 9, 1953 NUMBER 49

EDITORIAL

The President At His Best

WE HAVE said it before, but it is worth repeating: President Eisenhower best proves his claim to national leadership when he cuts loose from the cautious platitudes of his prepared speeches and speaks what comes fresh and warm and pulsing with conviction from deep in his own nature. He showed this in both his extempore comments on the Harry Dexter White case at press conferences. And he showed it again in his "off-the-cuff" remarks before the Anti-Defamation League and the General Board of the National Council of Churches. To the former he gave as clear a picture of what it means to be an American citizen living under the constitutional protection of the Bill of Rights as has been drawn in years. Coming at a time when grave charges are being broadcast against citizens on the basis of secret, undisclosed testimony, the President's insistence that "there must be no weakening of the code" by which Americans are assured "the right to meet your accuser face to face," was a word much needed and bravely spoken. We hope it will be heeded in loyalty proceedings within the departments of his own administration. And his statement to the National Council that democracy as a political system rests on "a completely false premise unless we recognize a Supreme Being in front of whom we are all equal," showed a perception of the religious foundation of our national life which has worldwide importance. When the President talks in this fashion he is truly the leader of his people. The attack on him by the so-called American Council of Churches for having said such things at a National Council meeting is simply one more instance of the effrontery and irresponsibility of that fount of discord.

McCarthy Maneuvers For 1956

SAY WHAT you will about the junior senator from Wisconsin, there is one thing he proves every time he makes a speech: he is a master politician. In the no-holds-barred school of political wrestling, there have been few to equal and none to surpass him. On the night of November 24 Senator McCarthy commanded all the nation's television networks, ostensibly to reply to the attack on "mccarthyism" which former President Truman inserted in his broadcast on the Harry Dexter White case. (See "Ordeal by Spies" in last week's Century.) But by the time he finished, the Wisconsin senator had given Mr. Truman, Mr. Brownell and anyone else who may fancy himself as a practitioner of the politician's art a lesson in how to do it. For he used his thirty minutes to transform a discussion of the White case into a challenge to make himself and his methods the central issue of the 1954 elections. Not only did he draw the line of battle next November as a choice between himself and Mr. Truman (who won't be running), but he charged that President Eisenhower's administration is showing nearly as much laxity in dealing with communism at home and abroad as did its Democratic predecessors. Mr. McCarthy's broadcast was diabolically contrived to put the administration in a box. With control of the next Congress hanging by a hair, and implementation of the administration's policies dependent on retaining that control, McCarthy is creating a political situation in which a Republican victory next fall will seem to the President's party strategists virtually to require endorsement of the senator. If that is not forthcoming, and if the Republicans lose Congress, then McCarthy will be in a position to demand the party leadership, and nomination, two years later. Either way, he has confronted the President with a "heads I win; tails you lose" choice. And Harry S. Truman, no mean political fox, gave him the opening to do it!

Catholic Hierarchy on Man's Dignity

THREE TIMES within a month church declarations have shown the American public that the churches have something vital to say on the basic problems of our time. First came the courageous statement of the General Council of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (See "Dissent Is Not Treason," November 18.) This was followed by the pastoral letter from the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. ("An Episcopal 'Amen' to Presbyterians," December 2.) Now comes the American hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which issued its annual pastoral on November 21. In certain respects, this is the most interesting and important of the three. It reveals American Catholicism officially endorsing the concept of a liberal society, operating through democratic processes, as in accord with the will of God for those whom he has created. This statement by the American bishops of the papal church deserves to be read in full. (Its text is in the *New York Times* for November 22; it may be obtained from the National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C.) Here we can point out only three of its many excellencies. First, its directness and clarity are a refreshing contrast to the ecclesiastical documents customarily issued from Rome.

Second, it is the best written of the three recent church pronouncements. We don't know who wrote it, but he can turn a quotable sentence. Here are a few inadequate samples: "The false liberty of individualism wrecks society by defining freedom as individual license; the false liberty of dictatorship wrecks humanity by defining freedom as the right of the dictator to nullify the person." "The right of the capitalist to his business and to his profits and interest, and the right of the laborer to his wages and his union, are both conditioned by their service to the common good." "The greater the material advancement of any country, the more energetic should be the spirit of neighborliness." (We particularly like that "energetic.") Third, this is the most theological of the three church statements. It starts from a text: "Man's essential worth derives from a threefold source: from the fact of his creation, from the mode of his existence and from the nobility of his destiny." From this it proceeds to its description of rights and responsibilities within a free society. In the entire statement there is scarcely a phrase to which a liberal-minded Protestant will take exception. Indeed, in the portions dealing with social and economic relations, America's Roman Catholic bishops speak in almost the syllables employed by the World Council at Amsterdam.

National Council for Public Housing

WHEN THEORIES of government responsibility clash with human welfare, they should be decided in favor of the latter. Such was the plain implication of the statement calling for church support of public housing programs which the General Board of the National Council of Churches adopted at its Washington meeting. The pendulum of public opinion has seemed to swing recently toward less government participation in such matters as housing and toward more insistence that this is a field for private enterprise. That view was vigorously espoused at the Washington meeting by a small group of delegates led by Jasper Crane, layman from Wilmington, Delaware. However, after the General Board had debated the issue at length, the statement supporting public housing was adopted by a 70-to-6 vote. It had been prepared by the executive board of the National Council's Division of Christian Life and Work, and it was presented to the General Board by Charles P. Taft. "Millions of Americans," said the statement, "dwell in indecent and overcrowded housing and in congested slum areas without elementary necessities for wholesome community, family and personal living. This contributes to juvenile delinquency, crime, divorce, disease, alcoholism, narcotic addiction and a host of other moral and social problems." Because of this, American churches were asked to support "the general principle of assistance by federal, state and local governments in the solution of the national housing problem." The federal government was called on to restore funds for research into methods of reducing building costs; "every sound and reasonable effort" to end segregation in housing was said to deserve church support; churches were encouraged to sponsor community forums to explain and promote public housing programs. On motion of Miss Dorothy Kenyon, of the Congregational Christian Churches, an amendment called on "churches, church-related institutions and individual members" to "look quite carefully into their own ownership of substandard housing." Having taken this stand, the General Board went on to elect Roswell P. Barnes, executive secretary of the division which had proposed the statement, associate general secretary of the National Council. Altogether, the Washington meeting turned out to be an unusually significant occasion.

South African Christians Feel the Pressure

OVER on page 1438 appears what may be the most important news report in the 1953 volume of this paper. It tells of the conference on race relations held last month in Pretoria by more than 150 delegates representing the principal Protestant churches and missionary societies of the Union of South Africa. Everything about that conference had historic importance. In the first place, it was called by the Federal Missionary Council of the Dutch Reformed Church. In the second place, it gave the other Protestant churches in South Africa an unsurpassed opportunity to place before the dominant church their testimony against the *apartheid* (segregation) policies of the Malan government. In the third place, although most of the Dutch Reformed representatives stood up for Dr. Malan's racial policies, unmistakable evidence was presented that the weight of world condemnation is beginning to be felt by the Afrikanders and that church leaders of unimpeachable standing are beginning to challenge *apartheid* as a permanent policy. Thus, Professor B. B. Keet of the Stellenbosch Theological Seminary, while willing to see in *apartheid* an interim arrangement for dealing with South Africa's difficult racial situation, said that "the fact that Christian theologians on all sides are agreed that *apartheid* is not the model for a Christian community should be enough for us." And the assistant editor of *Kerkbode,* the Dutch Reformed magazine, backed him up. Perhaps the most hopeful fact about the Pretoria conference was its decision to follow this year's gathering, an all-white affair, with another next year in which nonwhites will be invited to participate. With the start toward fresh thinking given South African Protestantism by the Pretoria conference, who can forecast how far another year's reflection may carry all its churches?

Malan Threatens Everybody

SIGNS of changing attitudes within the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa must not be taken to mean that there is any perceptible softening on the part of tough old Daniel F. Malan, the former church editor who heads the South African government. To be sure, when Dr. Malan recently resigned the leadership of the Nationalist party in Cape province, he gave the nod as his successor to the less violent racialist of the two candidates for the vacancy. But this, he explained, was simply a matter of tactics; outside capital must not be scared away entirely. In every other respect, the 79-year-old prime minister is unchanged—unbending in his insistence on white su-

premacy and rule; threatening in his relations with the rest of the world; implacable in his pursuit and suppression of his domestic opponents. During the last few weeks he has again blasted the United Nations for putting unsettling ideas into the heads of African natives. The U.N., he told a party convention, is a cancer, and unless it is radically transformed (which means, unless it drops its concern over the Malan racial policies) it should disappear from the face of the earth. Almost simultaneously, he served notice on Britain that unless the three protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland are turned over to the tender mercies of the Union of South Africa's laws within five years, the Union will withdraw from the Commonwealth. Meanwhile, the imprisonment of offenders against the Malan racial laws continues. Patrick Duncan, eldest son of the prewar governor-general, Sir Patrick Duncan, has begun a 100-day prison sentence for the crime of entering a nonwhite community. And Manilal Gandhi, eldest son of the mahatma, is on the point of completing his 50-day prison sentence for the same offense. Mr. Duncan, who is crippled, has paid a fine to reduce the number of days he must spend in prison, but most of the conscientious objectors to the Malan racial laws prefer to serve their full sentences.

Try to Save Remnants of Worker-Priest Program

THE THREE French cardinals who went to Rome to plead with Pope Pius XII for the future of the "worker-priest" movement have come up with a proposal which they hope the Vatican will approve. Like so many compromises, it tries to save the name at the cost of the essence. Our readers should be familiar with this movement and the difficulties in which it has recently found itself, for we have paid it a great deal of attention. This we have believed justified on the ground that these "worker-priests" in France represented the most imaginative and hopeful effort by any Christian church, Roman, Protestant or Orthodox, to win back the respect and loyalty of Europe's alienated working classes. In the last few months, however, the conservative forces which gather around the papal throne, alerted by conservatives in the French hierarchy, have taken alarm. They have begun to fear lest the priests—most of them Dominicans—who laid aside their clerical robes to share fully in the life of workers in the French labor unions were not so much winning Christian converts as being themselves converted to the radical Marxism prevalent in the French labor movement. For a time it looked as though the Vatican would suppress the worker-priest movement entirely. Only the trip of Cardinal Feltin of Paris, Cardinal Lienart of Lille and Cardinal Gerlier of Lyon to Rome, and their combined plea to the pope, headed that off. But their amended rules for the movement, as now presented to the French hierarchy, will put these priests back in clerical garb, stop them from living in workers' quarters or working full-time in industry or taking active part in labor union life. They are to be carefully chosen to make sure that none of them are susceptible to radical social ideas and are to be given intensive training in church doctrine to make that assurance doubly sure. If this amended program is adopted, it is extremely unlikely that French workingmen will hereafter show the slightest interest. And it is by no means certain that even this emasculated program can obtain the approval of the French hierarchy and the papacy.

U.N. Security Council Censures Israel

NO VOTES were cast in the negative when, on November 24, the Security Council of the United Nations adopted its resolution of "strongest censure" against Israel. To be sure, two members of the council abstained from voting. Lebanon thought the resolution should be stronger but would not vote against it for that reason. The Soviet Union would not go on record either for or against, thus maintaining its strategy of working both sides of the Middle Eastern street. If this action by the U.N. were not of such historic importance we would defer comment until our executive editor, Dr. Fey, can write directly from Jerusalem. We expect that his editorial correspondence will throw additional light on what happened when 53 Arab refugees were massacred at Kibya, and what the continuing effects of that horror and of the U.N. resolution are likely to be. However, the way in which the United States, Great Britain and France moved together to obtain a reliable report from General Vagn Bennike, the Danish head of the Truce Supervision Organization, to affirm their faith in General Bennike's truthfulness despite Premier Ben-Gurion's allegation to the contrary, and the speed with which the motion of censure was carried despite renewed Zionist pressure on Washington—all these indicate that sharp changes of policy are taking place in the relations of the Western powers with the Middle East. The vote in the Security Council suggests that the taunt by the Archbishop of York that "the Jewish vote in New York has had a demoralizing effect on the United Nations" may no longer be true. The outcome of the recent New York mayoral election may already have made the Washington administration regret that it suspended its original disciplinary action against Israel.

Air Secretary Reinstates Reserve Officer

COMMON SENSE finally entered the case of Milo J. Radulovich, the Detroit reserve airforce lieutenant who was separated from the service as a security risk because he has a radical sister and his father had been caught reading a pro-Communist Serbian-language newspaper. (See "Choose Your Ancestors with Great Care!" November 4.) After three airforce colonels, an airforce major general, a lieutenant general and the airforce personnel council had concurred in the action against Lieutenant Radulovich, the airforce secretary, Harold E. Talbott, overruled them all and reinstated the veteran, now a student at the University of Michigan. . . . Contributions to 46 Protestant and Orthodox churches in this country reached $1,401,114,217 last year. That's a gain of 8.9 per cent over the year preceding. . . . Prof. O. Harald Eklund, of the university at Lund, Sweden, has attacked in the Swedish press the composition of the Swedish delegation to the Evanston Assembly of the World

Council. He says it is loaded in favor of "narrow neo-orthodoxy." These seem to be unhappy days in the clerical life of Sweden. . . . The Friends Committee on National Legislation reports that "during the current fiscal year" the government will spend, according to its estimates, 83½ per cent of its $72.1 billion budget for present, future and past wars. . . . Every fifth person in West Germany, according to the federal statistics office at Bonn, is an expellee. . . . The *Newsweekly* of the National Council of Churches reports that a revised edition of the official *Dictionary of the Russian Language,* published in Moscow, lists among colloquialisms "Second coming," which it defines as "an event which will never take place." . . . The National Council for the Prevention of War (1013 18th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.) is distributing a letter from West Berlin which states that the East German government has stopped military training for young people. Another letter reports that, in the much-publicized rush of West Germans to get commissions in the army the Bonn government will build as soon as the European Defense Community treaty is ratified, a third of the 100,000 would-be officers want to be paymasters. Paymasters are a long way from the front and handle a lot of money. Here are two items of significant news we have seen nowhere else. . . . Membership in Reform Jewish congregations in the United States and Canada has tripled during the last ten years. In a decade, the number of Reform congregations has risen from 301 to 463; membership from 50,000 to 150,000 families; revenue from $150,000 to $1,371,000.

Adventure in Futility

MODERN WARS seldom accomplish their purpose. World War I did not make the world safe for democracy. World War II did not end the menace of totalitarianism nor bring into being the world pictured in the Atlantic Charter. In this sense, those who die in battle die in vain. Not always, for there have been wars which gave a final answer to the disputes which caused them. The American Civil War was one. Until lately the Boer War fifty years ago looked like another. More often than not, however, modern wars do not gain the ends for which the victors say they fight. Increasingly, this is the record.

I

Such generalizations, it may be said, are old stuff. Why bring them up again? Because, we believe, it would be a neglect of duty to let pass the speech made by Vice-President Nixon in Tokyo without pointing out its testimony to a truth which may be widely accepted in principle but is too often neglected in practice. The Nixon speech, later endorsed by the secretary of state of the United States, virtually wrote off our war with Japan as a venture in futility. And this less than ten years after!

The vice-president spoke before the Japan-America Society in Tokyo. His speech was part of the campaign the United States is waging to induce Japan to rearm. Japanese public opinion is against this; it thinks that the nation, still struggling to recover from the losses brought by the war, cannot afford to maintain the 350,000-man army, the revived navy or the modernized airforce for which America is pressing. A principal argument used by the Japanese who oppose rearming is that Japan was disarmed by the United States, its constitutional prohibition against possessing an army, navy, airforce or "other war potential" was adopted on U.S. insistence, and it is therefore illogical —or worse—for this country to try to force Japan to plunge back into the armament race.

Mr. Nixon knew that he must reckon with this objection when he went to Tokyo to plead for rearmament. He saw that the only way he could deal with it without sophistry was to acknowledge that the U.S. decision in 1945 to disarm Japan and keep it disarmed had been a mistake. So he did so. Without mincing words, he told his Tokyo audience that the United States had "erred" when, at the end of the war, it demanded the demobilization of Japan's army, the destruction of what was left of its navy and airforce, the dismantling of naval and air bases, and most of all the writing into the postwar Japanese constitution of the pledge of perpetual disarmament which was formulated in the office of the supreme commander of the occupation, General Douglas MacArthur.

But when America's sons were dying in the Pacific, they were told—and the families who delivered them to that august sacrifice believed—that it was to accomplish those very ends. The whole theme of our war propaganda was the menace of Japan, the militarized terror of the Far East. The Japanese in arms was painted as almost subhuman in his ferocity—a wild beast loose, tearing at the vitals of his neighbors, threatening the peace of mankind. The war became a crusade to strip him of his power to harm, and our purpose not merely to defeat him today but to render him harmless tomorrow and forever. It thus was translated into moral terms, as wars must be if those who furnish the casualties are to be persuaded that their sacrifices are justified.

To be sure, Hiroshima and Nagasaki shook our American confidence in the moral purpose and superiority of our cause. (Incidentally, the revelation in Churchill's current memoirs of the casual way in which the decision was reached to drop the atomic bomb is one of the most disturbing passages in the book.) But resort to the bomb was rationalized as a drastic means to bring the war to a quick end. It was regrettable, to be sure, that so many thousands of civilians had to die, but by their deaths they had helped to bring a sudden peace. And peace would mean the end of Japan's fighting forces, the destruction of its fighting equipment, the renunciation by Japan of all preparation for war forever. Out of the suffering at Hiroshima as well as on the beaches of the Pacific islands great and lasting good would come.

Astonishingly, even the Japanese in great numbers accepted that interpretation of the purpose and meaning of the war. The American occupation troops who landed in Japan found themselves greeted as liberators. Instead of having to hold down a bitter and vengeful defeated enemy, they went unarmed to be told on every hand that they were Japan's saviors, who had freed the nation from the despotism of a hated military rule. Probably nowhere else in history is there a parallel to the moral and personal ascendancy achieved by the commander of the conquering

and occupying forces. This ascendancy resulted largely from the fact that General MacArthur had forced that very demilitarization which Vice-President Nixon now tells Japan was a mistake.

II

Mr. Dulles, speaking in Washington, not only agreed with the vice-president that stripping Japan of her arms was a mistake. He went beyond Mr. Nixon's avowal to declare that it was a mistake to disarm Germany as well as Japan. This perhaps should not be surprising, for Mr. Dulles is trying to hasten the rearmament of West Germany, just as Mr. Nixon was trying to hasten the rearmament of Japan, and he finds American policy in this regard up against the same accusations of illogic which the Japanese bring against it. Yet if the American families who gave their sons to defeat Hitler had not believed that they were fighting to end the recurring menace of German militarism, would they have thought the sacrifices justified?

Now we are told, by the highest exponents of our national policy, that fighting to disarm Japan and Germany was all a mistake. It was a mistake, say Mr. Nixon and Mr. Dulles, made because we did not then perceive "the intentions of the Soviet leaders." (A view which Mr. Churchill rejects so far as his own thinking after mid-1944 was concerned.) Because we did not perceive the consequences of our acts, according to the Nixon-Dulles explanation, by disarming Japan and Germany we only succeeded in clearing the way for the rise of a new enemy, stronger and more threatening. Now Germany and Japan must be rearmed with all haste to prepare to deal with that new enemy.

If war with Russia and its Communist allies should come, what would the slogans be? "End the menace of Soviet-Chinese aggression forever"? Probably something of that sort. Undoubtedly they would be cast in the form of another moral crusade for peace.

III

But what, it will be objected, is the alternative to such rearmament of the nations our sons died only eight years ago to disarm? It is easy enough to point out the irony in the Nixon and Dulles acknowledgments. That does not alter the menacing facts of today's international situation. Facing the realities of the present, what alternative have we to rearmament, both for our own nation and for every nation we can enlist as an ally? Is disarmament a practicable alternative?

Yes, if —. If the communist states will show convincing evidence that they are ready to disarm, if they will come into the disarmament commission of the United Nations with proposals which are more than tricks in the endless maneuvers for military advantage, if they will offer persuasive proof that they are prepared to carry a generally negotiated disarmament into effect, then the alternative will be apparent. But if not? Then we continue to face the "two-pronged perdicament" of which Reinhold Niebuhr wrote in his searching article in last week's Century: "the avoidance of war and resistance to tyranny."

The Christian conscience has never been more deeply troubled than it is at this hour. Not only is it troubled at our own hastening rearmament; in some respects it is even more troubled by the pressure we are exerting to force other peoples to rearm. We know there is no easy solution for the problems which make lasting peace seem so unlikely. Yet at the same time, experience warns that there is no lasting military solution for those problems. All military solutions do is to push the problems along to a day when we must face them again in altered form. (If, in a time of thermonuclear warfare, we survive to face them again.) What passes for a military solution is to be seen stripped of all illusions in the sight of Mr. Nixon and Mr. Dulles saying to Japan and Germany: "We made a mistake in fighting to disarm you; now we want you to rearm at your utmost possible speed."

Though the House Fall

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

Bagdad, Iraq, November 17.

IN THIS ANCIENT CITY on the Tigris river, the death of Ibn Saud, greatest of the Arab chieftains and head of a suddenly rich neighboring nation, created hardly a ripple.The few people who had opinions thought his 50-year-old son will probably make a better ruler, or at least will permit to die the old grudge his father carried on against the Hashemite rulers of Iraq and Jordan. And nobody will express an opinion as to the meaning of the resignation of Israel's Ben-Gurion. The emotional voltage is so high with reference to anything having to do with Israel that questions concerning the facts of Israeli politics are brushed aside as of no consequence. Most Iraqi are too busy making a living and trying at the same time to use wisely their own national income from oil to be interested in any but the simplest of generalizations and feelings on foreign affairs.

I

What the United States is up against in this part of the world is spelled out by an interview given yesterday by Prime Minister Fadhil Jamali to Morris Lazaron, John Cogley and myself.* The prime minister received his Ph.D. from Teachers College, Columbia University, after graduating from the American University at Beirut. The head of the government of this frontier country of the democratic world is a plain-spoken man. He received us with cordiality, picked up the fly-swatter which lay on his desk, made a few passes at disrespectful insects, and then proceeded to lay his views on the line. His statements are typical. Many others interviewed have said the same things.

Mr. Jamali said he was happy to receive an interfaith group of editors. He holds the Islamic faith himself, but he is no sectarian. "We are all brothers," he said, "except the Zionists and the Communists." He said Iraq gets Communists and its communist literature from Israel and Communists from the Tudeh party in neighboring Iran. He admitted that the number of known Communists is small; but they are "active and virulent," and in this respect are like the Zionists, he said.

*Mr. Fey is visiting the countries of the Middle East in company with a special correspondent of the *Jewish Newsletter* and the executive editor of the *Commonweal*, Roman Catholic weekly. They are guests of American Friends of the Middle East, an organization founded in 1951 to promote knowledge of this vital part of the world.

Note how the latter group dominate the American press, said the prime minister. He had been informed that immediately after the U.S. announced its withholding of aid to Israel, after the Kibya incident, "thousands of telegrams" descended on Mr. Dulles, so that in three days the department reversed itself and the funds were restored. Of course the New York mayoralty elections played a part also, said Mr. Jamali, but that also is characteristic of American policy. It is dominated by a highly active group, who do not think of the interests of the U.S. but only of their own interests in Israel. He declared the interests of the United States demand an impartial policy in the Middle East, but we are so completely controlled by Zionist influences that we cannot and do not carry out such a policy.

Eric Johnson's recent visit to these parts was badly conceived, he said. You cannot be so stupid as to think a few hundred million dollars, a promise of a Jordan Valley Authority, will set this score straight. You must hear what the 40 million people of the Arab world say. Your press does not give you their case. "For example," he said, "when I represented Iraq at the United Nations, I tried again and again to set the Arab case before the world but the American papers did not dare to print what I said. The *New York Times* is better than others, but even it gave more attention to Israel's Eban than to me or any other Arab."

II

The prime minister's insistence that Zionism controls the American press was repeated in many other interviews here, in Syria and in Egypt. Jamali's remarks are presented here because he is the prime minister of Iraq, is a friend of the West. He spent eight years in the United States and married an American wife, who teaches in a girls' college in Bagdad. He is determinedly anticommunist. The bitter remarks which follow are so typical that the names of many other leaders in government, in business and in education whom we have seen might be signed to them.

The first condition for a settlement of the Israeli issue, said Mr. Jamali, is Israel's compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations concerning its boundaries. No Arab can ever admit that the partition of Palestine was just or that the United Nations had a right to divide this country. Jamali declared that partition was and is still illegal. Neither the Balfour declaration nor any succeeding statement on Palestine sanctioned eviction of Arabs from their homes. The Arab people, who long looked up to the United States as to no other nation in the world, believe now that we are worse than the British or French or other imperialists, since none of them ever drove people from their homes into the desert. No amount of dollars offered is going to erase that impression, but a change in American policy could do so. Mr. Jamali is not convinced that the new administration in Washington has changed the Truman policy toward the Arab states. He has hopes, but he is waiting to see. So far as the recent withholding of aid from Israel goes, he said, it would have been better if nothing had been done, since the administration quickly succumbed again to Zionist pressure, and left the Arab world more disillusioned than ever.

Is there no hope then? we asked. The prime minister said that if certain steps were taken there might be hope. "The United Nations resolutions must be obeyed and Israel must accept the boundaries the U.N. prescribed," he declared. "If that is done, part of the refugees can resettle on the land now occupied by Israel outside those boundaries." Second, the United Nations must act to "contain Israel." It must guarantee the frontiers of the Arab states against Israeli aggression. Israel is your creation, not ours, he said, and we will accept no responsibility for her. Would he sanction lifting the boycott? Mr. Jamali would not say. "Prove your good intentions along the lines indicated," he said, "and see what happens. This is simple justice and you should do it anyway."

Wistfully we kept bringing up the possibility of peace, but he would not listen to the word. Settlement, perhaps, but not peace. Peace depends on a demonstrated change in Zionist nature and in our American policy with reference to Zionist demands, said Mr. Jamali. It depends also on the United Nations' acting to enforce its resolutions on Palestine. "I have the friendship of America at heart," said the prime minister. "I know America must be saved from Zionist domination of its Middle East policy. Her vital interest and that of the whole region is the same. That interest cannot be served by a policy which evicts hundreds of thousands of people from their homes. It cannot be served by the support you have been giving French colonialism in Morocco."

Mr. Jamali recognized that the United States has to take into account the position of France in Europe and needs to maintain cooperation with the colonial powers. But America will find strength, he said, not in the balance of power, but in maintaining the ideals of Jefferson and Lincoln. Said this Muslim to two Christians and a Jew: "Your best course is to be morally strong. Right and justice are stronger than armies." The head of the Iraq government said he had labored this point concerning Morocco with Mr. Dulles on the occasion of Mr. Dulles' visit a few months ago. "Give me time," he reported Mr. Dulles as asking. Jamali said: "Events are moving too fast. The world cannot wait."

III

We asked: What about Russia? If Russia goes for your oil, the new Iraq you are trying to build will be dead. Why do not the statesmen of the Arab nations seem more concerned about Russia? Jamali replied: "The world is massed to curb Russia and Russia knows she will have more than us to meet if she moves our way. But the world does nothing to stop Israel. We face her alone and you go on giving her aid even when she defies the United Nations. That is why we insist you confront what Israel means to us."

But, we objected, you carry this to the point where you seem to endanger yourselves as well as us. "We regret this," he said, "but our people say: If the world thinks so meanly of us as to permit and help what Israel is doing to us, we will cry out—and if we do not get justice, we are ready to let the house come down on us all.

"So far the Arabs have not had a fair deal from the West. For over 40 years the Arab world has been moving toward liberation and unity. The West has hindered us at every turn. Its last act in supporting Israel is like asking a

man for part of his flesh. He might give a hand, but he will not and cannot permit his heart to be cut out.

"That is what we have been asked to do—stand still and let the heart be cut out of the Arab world. We refuse to stand. Jerusalem belongs to Muslim and Christian as well as to the Jews." Observing that he had spoken frankly, the prime minister said: "I am a school teacher, not a diplomat. I am committed to serve humanity, so I must tell you the truth."

The interview ended as it began with words of welcome and friendship. But like so many others, its purpose was far too serious and left open too many questions to be soon forgotten.

Earlier in the day we were received by King Feisal II, who spoke with the enthusiasm that can be generated only by an 18-year-old of his recent visit to the United States. He had evidently been deeply impressed by the kindness and friendship with which he was everywhere received. We have found a hospitable welcome in his country, as we reported to him. We hope the time is not running out when men from the West will be met with such kindness here. Whether it is or not depends on many factors, one of the most important of which constituted the burden—note the word!—of the representative interview reported above.

H.E.F.

Irregular

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The hymnals I like best are those which have little musical directions at the top of the page, indicating how the hymn should be played and sung. Not that it makes much vocal difference to me. I cannot aspire to fulfilling the injunction to "make a *joyful* noise unto the Lord"; it is all pretty doleful. But I can obey the command, in the 98th Psalm, "Make a *loud* noise and rejoice."

Just the same, the musical directions enliven your thoughts. I have always been startled by the musical direction which goes with the hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers"—"May be sung in unison." Exactly! It had *better* be sung in unison! The loveliest one of all is the direction which goes with the Christmas carol, "There's a song in the air, There's a star in the sky." The direction reads, "Irregular." I should say so! The whole thing was highly irregular! A Baby in a barn. What could be more irregular than that? Shockingly irregular!

Two thoughts, decked with holly for Christmas, come out of this musical notation. We have in Christianity a most irregular religion. We worship a most irregular God. His ways are past finding out. Anything can happen. The worst enemies of vital Christianity are those who have tried to regularize it, to take out its fantastic, peculiar qualities and leave it no different from anything else. Thus, often, a company called to be disturbers have dwindled down into a company of regular fellows, achieving the fine regularity of the cemetery.

Here's the other thought—a Baby in a barn! There was a place in the organized life of Judea in which babies might be born. It was not a barn. But there was no room in the inn, so a barn was used. God never gets to the end of his rope. If there is no room in the fitting place, he uses another, even a manger.

There is a place for every new revelation of God to be born. That place is God's church. But if there is no room in the church—as there has often been no room—God can find a barn or other place in which his new word can be born.

There was a time in the early 19th century for a new revelation of the meaning of the Christian gospel. That was while the slaughter of the innocents was going on, a slaughter of children, often mere babies, in mine and factory, which made Herod's little exploit in killing look like pretty small stuff. When the Ten Hours bill, limiting the labor of children to ten hours a day, was introduced in Parliament the Bishops of the Church of England, who had seats in the House of Lords, voted overwhelmingly against it. You can see the godly bishops, "goodly in girth," protesting fervently against the weak sentimentalism of allowing the children of the poor to get off with a mere ten hours a day at work.

There was no room in the inn of the church, so that baby was born in a barn. There were of course individual Christians, such as Shaftesbury, who led in the fight. But the new insight into the rights of childhood came from labor rather than in the institution where such new insights might be expected to originate.

The inn was full, but that did not stop the incarnation. There is need for new revelations of the meaning of the Christian message. Will they come in the church or in a barn?

Yours,

SIMEON STYLITES.

Hymn for Christmas

THIS night of his coming
Is muted and stilled;
The holy bells chime
Of a promise fulfilled.
The Hero of David,
The tall Son of God,
The reaches of heaven
His young feet have trod
To walk in our darkness
In strength unafraid,
To lift to himself
The world he had made.

He has been, forever,
He is, and shall be
The young Lord of heaven
And earth and the sea;
His Love, past our dreaming,
Enchants every hour,
It speaks in our music,
It breathes in each flower.
Oh, look for his presence
In all that is Light;
A Sun for the morning,
The Star of the night.

ELLIS ATKISSON MCDONALD.

Christ the Hope of the World

Issues Confronting the 1954 World Council Assembly—V

By Robert L. Calhoun

WHEN the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches comes together in Evanston during a fortnight next August, the first week will center about one main theme: Christian hope. Two preliminary reports have been published and widely discussed among the churches with vigor and insight. A third report, drafted and debated in the full light of this ecumenical discussion, will be published for consideration by the Assembly. The purpose of this paper is not to summarize the forthcoming report, but to help, if possible, toward clarifying the meaning of the theme and the perspective in which it may be understood.

In a time of anxiety and confusion, the church is in duty bound to speak out its word of hope for God's world and for all who dwell therein. But the task is not an easy one. Any attempt to speak about Christian hope is likely, because of various preconceptions, to be understood much too simply. Many will be led to expect a promise, more or less wishful, that projects cherished by men and women of good will are assured of the earthly success they themselves desire. Others, accustomed to think of Christian hope solely with reference to another world or another epoch beyond the present one, will expect a discussion focused on the "second coming" and the life hereafter.

The Full Christian Tradition

But a statement of Christian hope that is true to our full tradition, and not merely to some fraction of it, can follow neither of these lines. It cannot promise simply that even good men will get what they want; for the Christian hope is in God, whose ways are not our ways and whose purposes very often bring ours to defeat. On the other hand, the Christian gospel is good news for men here and now, and its hope is not a mere promise of escape nor a disguise for hopelessness about this present life. More will be said on this point in a moment.

The difficulty in speaking of hope has another side. Whatever language we use in trying to correct mistaken preconceptions and to effect genuine communication has serious disadvantages. The richly imaginative and deeply felt symbolism of the Bible is, to very many people of today, so unfamiliar as to be incomprehensible, and so lacking in scientific precision as to be distasteful and easily suspected of either naiveté or dishonesty. We no longer think easily in the language of poetry and myth or of all-out conviction. The familiar vocabulary of everyday life, drawn from our acquaintance with ordinary events in three-dimensional space and clock-and-calendar time, or from popular (and highly inaccurate) half-mechanistic, half-magical presuppositions about nature and man, is likely to seem more comprehensible and to be in fact even more misleading. As for the highly precise languages of mathematics and symbolic logic, or the technical terminologies of the more exact natural sciences or of metaphysics and value theory, they touch at various points but cannot adequately convey what needs to be said, in actual human give-and-take, about love or loyalty or hope, about duty and destiny and the encounter of man with God.

These difficulties, of course, are multiplied by the very diverse meanings that even the same form of words is sure to convey to hearers inside and outside the Christian tradition, and even to Christians of different churches and cultures. There is no simple way out. But it will help toward understanding if certain essential presuppositions are recognized.

Faith and Commitment

First, Christian hope is inseparable from faith in the God who "was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself." That is to say for one thing that Christian hope is inseparable from conviction that in the person of Jesus Christ and in a crucial segment of human history—his earthly life, death and resurrection—the supreme Being with whom men have to deal is decisively manifested. It is to say, still more fundamentally, that Christian hope involves not only belief but wholehearted commitment, in confidence and love, to the God thus discerned. Apart from such faith, all talk of Christian hope is empty. This does not mean that our hope is only for Christians. On the contrary, it is proclaimed as hope—the only invincible hope—for all men. But such proclamation is possible, in full honesty, only when faith in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is presupposed.

Second, such faith involves recognition of the perpetual sovereignty of God over nature and history. Christian faith affirms this sovereignty as the Lordship of One who is at once Creator and Sustainer, Redeemer and life-giving Spirit, whose active present rule pervades the whole created world, not as despotic or mechanical compulsion but as sustaining and transforming power. In it the steady ordering and judgment of events by law, majestic and inescapable, is strangely united with spontaneous re-creative acts of grace—of unmerited forgiveness, new beginnings, and fresh gifts of insight and strength. Through the complex, inseparable working of law and grace, the Kingdom of God manifests itself now and in every age in the overcoming of evil with good.

The Kingdom Is Central

Recognition of this Kingdom was central in Jesus' preaching and in the ordering of his whole life. In one guise or another it marks all genuine Christian preaching and living. It underlies all the discussions of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948, on "Man's Disorder and God's Design." For the present affirmation of Christian hope, it provides at once basis, context and aim. Because God reigns above all human and inhuman powers, and in Jesus Christ has worsted the worst forces

of evil on earth, we can proclaim sure hope for men in spite of any terror, weakness or threatening disaster. In the midst of God's present reign we can discern the crucial difference between true hope and false. Toward the fulfillment of his Kingdom, on earth and in heaven, we are bidden to direct our prayers and our whole lives.

Not as an isolated assertion, then, but as an integral and indispensable dimension of the gospel, we affirm Christian hope as inseparable from Christian faith. Our faith, once more, is response to the disclosure of God in Jesus Christ. Such response is always, in a profound sense, "paradoxical" and "scandalous." It defies all efforts to reduce it to the neat, readily acceptable forms of logical inference or common-sense action. In these respects it is like passionate love or loyalty unto death. It is with such facts in mind that we must approach any serious declaration of Christian hope.

To say "Our hope is Christ" is, then, to reaffirm in simple words and with a new emphasis the tremendous paradox of Christian faith. It means that the one true hope of Christians and of all men is God, who was in Christ reclaiming the world for himself—God the Creator and Lord of all, who gives himself in love for men: as living Wisdom and Power to be born, to serve and to die for our sake, and to break the grip of sin and the terror of death here on earth; as Holy Spirit to establish a new community of faith and love in human history; as Sovereign over time and eternity to promise life beyond anything that earth can hold.

The hope thus anchored in the staggering paradox of incarnation and resurrection—of eternal Being made visible in time, of sovereign might and goodness nailed to a Roman cross, buried on a Judean hillside, and preached with irrepressible power by unlettered Galilean fishermen —this hope is itself full of paradox. That is to say, it has in concentrated form the concrete, puzzling unity of life itself, uniting opposites of many sorts—striving *and* realization, movement *and* rest, here-now *and* yet-to-be, in-time *and* beyond-time—that words and thought can recognize but never fully explore, define or comprehend. As already intimated, to separate these opposites, to break the paradox into fragments, is to falsify the nature of our hope.

Both Otherworldly and This-Worldly

One familiar way this is done, whether by Christians or by non-Christians, is to declare that man's hope lies in rejection of this present world and escape from it. Various non-Christian programs for salvation—some mystical, some speculative, some sharply dualistic and pessimistic about the everyday world—declare that nature and history are illusory, or hopelessly fragmentary, or incurably evil. The way of hope is the way of rejection and escape, into a realm of being and goodness that negates this world. In Christian history, this otherworldly version of hope often takes the form of millenarianism, looking toward a "new age," on earth, that is wholly future; or of confident anticipation of future life in a "heaven" separated off from life on earth; or of expectant waiting, whether naive or subtly sophisticated, for the "second coming" of a Christ now absent from human affairs.

In all these otherworldly hopes there is a valid element of strength: refusal to regard the obvious facts of everyday life as the final limits of man's hope. But they entail grave dangers for both faith and conduct. They encourage lack of responsible concern for the needs of men here and now. They foster pessimism, and disparagement of ordinary people and their lives. Even at their best, they sap the meaning from great affirmations of Christian faith: divine creation and sovereignty, incarnation, the ever-present life of the Holy Spirit. Otherworldly hope alone is far short of full Christian hope.

The opposite mistake is no less familiar and damaging. Very often hope is defined, by non-Christians and by many Christians also, as seeking fulfillment within the limits of earthly life. All optimistic naturalism takes this line: in our day, the Marxist hope for a classless society free from strife and fear; the humanist faith in progress and the perfectibility of man through increasing intelligence and skill; the fierce activism of individual or folk or nation that seeks fulfillment in raw power; the romantic or speculative pantheism that deifies all that exists and finds salvation in acquiescence. Much Christian effort, too, has supported a gospel of this-worldliness: perhaps identifying the Kingdom of God with natural evolution and social progress, or with the church on earth or one of its branches or major enterprises; perhaps seeing man's ultimate fulfillment in personal piety, in works of charity or in sacramental worship.

Treasure in Earthen Vessels

All these world-affirming ways of hope are right at least in taking seriously man's life here and now. In the perspective of Christian faith, affirmation rather than rejection of this world can do justice, better than any stark pessimism, to the truth of creation, incarnation and the present living Spirit. But affirmation too simply and easily held is not true to the hard facts of life as Christian hope must face them. A world sick through and through with the poisons of man's rejection of God and inhumanity to man is not the Kingdom of Heaven. Nor can any natural progress in knowledge and skill, or even in personal and social virtue, make it so. All earthly efforts and achievements, especially all earthly institutions, are in their partly man-made character full of ambiguity. The church itself, embodied here in men and institutions, can at best foreshadow and partake in the Kingdom of God, not be its fulfillment.

Here indeed we have God-given treasure, but "in earthen vessels, to show that the transcendent power belongs to God and not to us." This is the world that God has made and loved, in which he suffers with us and triumphs for us. The earth is even now receiving light and life at his hands. Yet the full glory of his suffering and triumph, decisively made known to us in Jesus Christ, must be realized beyond the bounds of earthly history. Christian hope affirms both the life and light that now shine in our darkness and the fuller glory that is to be. It affirms both, moreover, as inseparable and indispensable aspects of one God-given "eternal life."

To say that such hope is paradoxical is not to say it is self-contradictory or nonsensical. Square triangles and uncreated creatures are self-contradictory terms, whose components are strictly incompatible and which cannot correctly describe any real being. But finding life by losing

it, a present full of past and future, punitive mercy and redemptive judgment, God incarnate—these are paradoxes, some familiar enough to be taken for granted as if they were simple and evident, some unfamiliar enough to seem violent and scandalous, and all indispensable to Christian experience. Each of them stands for a reality that confronts the believer. Each can be indicated only by affirming both of its apparently incompatible aspects, neither of which (unlike the components of a simple contradiction) can be grasped in isolation from the other. A contradiction, once clearly analyzed, falls apart. A concrete reality of the sort that concerns us here, that must be described in paradoxical expressions, can be subjected to careful, prolonged and fruitful analysis without ever losing its persistent, unexhausted unity.

A Fresh Proclamation for a Weary World

This is not the place for lengthy technical discussion. If the mode of approach required for understanding a statement of Christian hope has been suggested, that is perhaps enough.

Discussion of the sort offered in the forthcoming report must, of course, provide in much more concrete form indications of the nature and basis of Christian hope. Its emergence in the Bible and in individual and corporate Christian living, and its bearing on the major problems of life in the church, must be explored. At these points, the theme of "Hope" makes direct contact with the themes of "Faith and Order" and "Evangelism" in the second week at Evanston. Not less vital, and demanding even more detailed study, is the significance of Christian hope for the world of our time. Once again, the gospel is preached not simply to the church for the church. It is a message for all men everywhere, and a primary task of the church is to make this clear in word and in deed. Here the main theme is closely related to the four remaining themes of the second week: to the quest for "Responsible Society" and the struggle for "World Community," to the tensions in "Intergroup Relations" and the daily work of "The Christian in His Vocation."

"Christ the Hope of the World" thus means nothing less than a fresh proclamation of good news for a world that is weary and heavy-laden. It is not a message of easy good cheer. No grownup today could take seriously any superficial word. The gospel for our time, as in the beginning and in every age, is "Christ crucified . . . God's power and God's wisdom." Against that power and wisdom, the gates of hell cannot prevail.

Footnote to Cleveland

By A. J. Muste

THE BASIC accomplishment of the recent National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order at Cleveland was to align the Protestant churches and their members in this country—insofar as it is possible for such a conference and the machinery of the National Council and the denominations to do so—with the views on foreign policy held by the "internationalists" or nonisolationists in the Republican party and by the Truman-Stevenson elements in the Democratic party.

I

To say that this is the *political* significance of Cleveland 1953 and that this is the inference policy makers will draw from it is not to suggest that those present were not Christians seeking earnestly to determine what ought to be done in order to make the ultimate Christian standard of love operative in the outward order. Many things along these lines were said at Cleveland. Recently in a favorable review of a book by a leading Christian theologian a secular reviewer said of the author: "He is a man and mind to whom little or nothing is added by calling him Christian." One questions this judgment as applied to a *man*. But it seems to me an essentially valid assessment of the political pronouncements and political effects of such a conference as Cleveland to say that little or nothing is added by calling them Christian.

In a sense those who organized the conference wanted it to accomplish just this result; i.e., to come out with an approval of the more "enlightened" and "progressive" aspects of U.S. foreign policy and a program that would commend itself to decent middle-of-the-road people regardless of specifically Christian considerations. Another way to state it is that the object was to come out with a program which would strengthen the hands of Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles, not one which would cause them any concern.

To say this is certainly not to charge the organizers of the conference with devising a plot or with conducting the conference undemocratically. They were reflecting the thinking of the main body of church people, certainly of the opinion-formers in the churches.

It should also be said that those at the conference (pacifists and in some instances nonpacifists) who were unhappy over the outcome failed for one reason or another to bring about adequate discussion of crucial matters. Such dissenters or questioners were present in considerable number.

The preliminary paper for the section on the United Nations contained a strong warning against the U.N.'s engaging in military action to keep or enforce peace. In the section on collective security, where the preliminary paper took the position on Korea of "collective defense" which was eventually adopted by the conference, a motion was made that the section disapprove the statement in the study paper of the section on the U.N. This motion, after fairly prolonged debate, prevailed—but by a vote of 42 to 33, with enough abstentions to make it virtually 50-50. It was agreed under the circumstances not to regard this

vote as an action by the section. Nevertheless, the section and eventually the conference as a whole adopted the "line" referred to above.

II

This brings me to the real "concern" of this article. Though such a conference as this is called a "study" conference, discussion of crucial controversial issues hardly takes place at all. The time factor, the desire of the promoters to come out with a unanimous position, diversity of views among the dissenters and perhaps inadequate equipment for discussing the issues—these and other elements lead to the result just mentioned. I stress that this is not a special indictment of the promoters of Cleveland 1953. Insofar as it is an indictment, it is an indictment of ourselves—of the churches and the church people of the United States.

It would seem that sometimes and somewhere the assumptions underlying the actions of such conferences as Cleveland, the issues which do not get discussed there, ought to be considered by Christian people and leaders. The fact that this is the age of the H-bomb should be enough to create a sense of urgency among Christians to discover that distinctively Christian "word of biblical simplicity and power, concerning the hope of peace on earth, couched in such terms that the wayfaring man, anywhere in the world, would find in it good tidings of great joy."

III

Cleveland is the fourth in a series of study conferences going back to Delaware in the spring of 1942. Cleveland 1945 and 1949 intervened. The general trend has been toward less "controversy," more "unanimity." Cleveland 1953 went farthest in this direction. Is this really a good sign or simply an indication that the general trend toward conformity and the avoidance of "dangerous" themes is affecting the psychological climate of church circles? The impact of all these conferences has been to put the American churches back of the administration of the moment and of the internationalist elements in the major parties, to give sanction in effect to World War II and the Korean war, to avoid revolutionary analysis and proposals, to play down the prophetic and to hew out a "responsible," practical middle-of-the-road line.

What has happened during these years? The "just and durable peace" was not achieved. We live in an era of permanent though as yet limited war. Totalitarianism has made important advances. Democracy has met severe setbacks in our own country—a land on which no bomb has yet been dropped. Militarization has gone on apace. The present administration is backed by forces which insist on de-emphasizing technical and other aid except as it may contribute directly to U.S. military security. The United States is widely distrusted and feared.

It is not necessary to extend the catalogue. As a matter of fact, at conferences like Cleveland this retrogression is given as one of the important reasons why we must *now* proceed very cautiously, be satisfied with small gains if any, and so on. Otherwise, we are told, we shall be playing into the hands of the *extreme* militarists, of McCarthy and his ilk. But it is surely just possible that if the churches had followed a more distinctive and courageous course, had been more prophetic, some of this retrogression might not have occurred. It should not be taken for granted that persistence in prescribing more of what has brought us to our present parlous state—or at least has failed to save us from it—is the only wise course now open. Furthermore, things are not likely to improve if we stand in awe of reactionaries and let them in effect lower our sights.

IV

What are some of the questions that need serious discussion by churchmen at this juncture? Some of those we list here are primarily theological, some primarily political. This is probably as it should be, for one of our difficulties these days is a tendency to say that discussion of certain problems is out of order at certain conferences because they are theological and at other conferences because they are political; whereas our over-all problem is how we are to bring our prayer and our politics together in a creative and truly relevant fashion, how to introduce distinctively Christian elements into the realm of political action.

1. First is the problem of what constitutes "responsible" action by Christians and the churches in the political realm. The assumption which underlies virtually all discussion at such conferences as Cleveland is that Christians must start from the fact that the United States is now a great power, that while it is far from perfect it is on the whole using its power and resources justly, and that it is warranted in making its own security and self-interest a basic element in its policy.

The spokesmen of the Christian churches in the West then take their place by the side of those who man—or perhaps only seem to man—the controls in this power-state. In their view you are being responsible and practical if you make suggestions which men *in this context* can be expected to carry out, and if at crucial points you "strengthen the hands" of men in office. To lay before Mr. Dulles a program which if he concurred in it would require him to step down from his secretaryship is dismissed as "utopian," the most derogatory adjective that can be applied to a Christian in these days. But is it not the peculiar responsibility of the church which supposedly is not identified with the state to raise such prior questions as whether power may not even on "our side" be demonic in character, rather than to encourage an uncritical acceptance of the power situation of the moment as the context within which alone responsible action can take place?

This problem of responsibility needs to be discussed also from another angle. Practical and realistic measures are proposed on the tacit assumption that then Christians will actually be able to get results, to exercise restraint upon power at crucial points. As already intimated, the history of the past decade hardly constitutes obvious and conclusive evidence that the churches have exercised influence at crucial points in the power struggle. If a course admittedly not ideally Christian is advocated on the ground that it will at least get results, and it does not get results, then what justification remains?

2. When we talk theology we are aware of the mortal character of every nation. When we talk politics we hardly think of raising the question whether in fact the judgment of God may already rest upon Western civilization. To put the case another way, communism is thought of as

essentially evil and outside ourselves except as essentially alien Communists infiltrate. A whole series of political and cultural questions is left out of this analysis or handled superficially; e.g., the bearing of the long aggression of the West against the world (Toynbee) on the counteraggression which the West now faces; or the catastrophic significance of the fact that it was the U.S. which by a unilateral decision catapulted the world into the era of atomic war.

Still more fundamental is the consideration—seldom if ever seriously taken into account—that the atheism, materialism, secularism, addiction to violence, and trend toward mechanization of life which we ascribe to communism are essentially, like the Marxist system as a whole, products not of Russia or the East but of the West. The communist totalitarians have carried these things much further than we? Well, there is a saying that they who sow the wind may reap the whirlwind. As Shakespeare put it: "The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction." Our insensitivity to such problems deprives us of a message to people behind the iron curtain (how shall we talk to them unless we see in what subtle and profound ways we made them and the conditions under which they live?) and alienates from us a host of intellectuals in many parts of the world.

3. As in the field of political and cultural analysis, so in the field of economic analysis there are problems which Christians need urgently to re-examine. For example, the tendency among churchmen today is to accept the American economic system in its essentials, though there is criticism of details. The idea that it may need radical or revolutionary change is not seriously advanced, though progressive churchmen warn against imposing the system on other countries. It was not always thus. Is it a sign of progress that precisely now when vast sections of the world are turning to other systems, we by-pass radical questioning of the American economic system? Or is this a sign of a general trend to conservatism and conformity?

Similarly, there is no real discussion as to whether the war danger can be substantially mitigated short of a radical change in the U.S. economy, though even a superficial examination suggests that a shift from a war to a peace economy would involve a major operation. If this is indeed the case, then all talk about disarmament or serious reduction which does not reckon with this factor is simply talk.

4. The political programs issuing from such conferences as Cleveland proceed on the assumption that war is still a necessary and permissible instrument of policy for Christians. There is a strong feeling that to raise the question whether this is indeed the case is to "bring up the old pacifist arguments which have been threshed out a hundred times"—and rejected by the majority. But this attitude may be very dangerous, even if it be true that pacifists are not coming up with brand new ideas.

Leaving aside for the moment the question as to what the answer should be, can the *problem* of what these things imply for Christian conscience and world order ever be left on the shelf for long? To approach the matter from another angle, Amsterdam declared that the whole concept of the "just war" is now challenged and urged that theologians and others give serious study to what this means. To my knowledge, no such study has been made.

5. Finally, though many good things and true are said about the nature and mission of the church in the abstract, I feel that on the existential level there is little real wrestling with what it means that the church is supposedly a universal fellowship in Christ which transcends cultures and nations, or that the church and Christians presumably may lay hold on divine power for "overcoming demonic forces in history." It is assumed on both sides of the iron curtain that church and culture are closely identified, not that they stand over against each other, and that the church's job is political rather than prophetic. But is this the right stand in this revolutionary moment? Granted that utopianism is a danger, is not "adaptationism" also a danger? And which is actually prevalent in the churches today?

It is true, as we so often remind ourselves these days, that there are no simple answers. It may be that if there were more discussion of basic problems in an attempt to hew out a more distinctively Christian line for dealing with the international situation, we should still be as confused as ever. But—to allude to a story told at Cleveland and immensely appreciated—our confusion would be "on a higher level and about more important things."

VERSE

Manacles

PRECEDENT
Is an iron hand
Handcuffing the wrist
Of progress to the dead
Body of the past.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

Alternatives

WHAT do you see at Christmas?
Bright lights that glare and flash.
What do you see at Christmas?
A machine that rings up cash.

What do *you* see at Christmas?
A wondrous angelic throng.
What do you hear at Christmas?
I hear their heavenly song.

HARDING W. GAYLORD.

Yuletide

ON hills we thought forgotten leans the light,
on hope's familiar steeples followed and lost:
this Star brings back all that has taken flight:
the loves, the childhood flames, the rivers crossed;
this Star reclaims, this light burns out our fear,
leaving us certain—All that has been is here,
and all that is will live, though grieved and torn,
because, each hour of faith, the Child is born.

GEORGE ABBE.

Forgotten in Berlin

By Stewart W. Herman

THE COMMUNISTS touched on a tender nerve last summer when, in connection with the American scheme to channel food into hungry East Germany, they boldly suggested that there were plenty of hungry people in West Berlin to be fed first. In fact, the East Berlin authorities tried to redistribute American food parcels among West Berliners. But they had remarkably little success. President Eisenhower had not only beaten Malenkov to the propagandistic punch, but it was obvious to all that the two instances of hunger differed in kind.

Rebellion had flared up all over East Germany only a month before. It was caused in large part by needless, senseless, genuine hunger. The hungry people of West Berlin, however, had for the most part come from East Germany and were in no mood to go back just for a handout. They still hoped that the West would give them a new start in life.

A Cold War Victory

Their predicament would have become truly pathetic if the pointing finger of the Communists had been blandly disregarded by the West, even though the U. S. strategy in setting up parcel stations along the Berlin boundary was a brilliant cold war victory. The spontaneity of the Eisenhower gesture in offering $15 million worth of food fortunately contained a large percentage of the genuine metal of what has become known as unselfish American generosity. But the use of food for propaganda purposes remained suspect in many European minds.

Belatedly this same generosity—without the fanfare of trumpets—is to be exercised in favor of the needy in West Berlin. Toward the end of October the distribution of one million pounds of butter began. Next month up to 25,000 undernourished children are to be flown out of Berlin for rest and rehabilitation in West Germany. The International Rescue Committee is responsible for this additional aid, which supplements the steady help sent into Berlin by church and other voluntary agencies. The West Berlin government will launch a food and fuel allocation around Christmas.

The Living Dead

It is estimated that 600,000 inhabitants of West Berlin —a third of the total population—are in need of extra help. Perhaps the most pitiful among them are the Z.O.A.'s (*Zugewanderte ohne Aufenthaltsrecht,* literally, "those who have come in but have no right to remain"). Not only are these 125,000 Germans from the East (some estimates put their number at 225,000) out of work, but they have no right to work or to go further west. They dwell in a twilight world between the East and the West because they belong to neither. They might better be called zombies. So far as civil rights are concerned, they are the living dead. Now that the popular excitement over food distribution and dramatic escapes has subsided, now that the pictures have been taken and the news stories cabled, there is a tendency to forget these people who sought refuge in West Berlin.

One fact must be kept clearly in mind: All these people are Germans; theoretically, they still hold German citizenship. But West Berlin, an island surrounded and half-strangled by Soviet Germany, cannot accept the economic and political consequences of giving asylum to all these refugees. The policy of trying to separate the sheep (genuine refugees) from the goats (riff-raff, adventurers, Communist agents) is sound. In practice, the same policy has been an effective instrument of control against a refugee stampede to the West. But it is also true that many of the goats are simply poor sheep who didn't know the right answers. What is to become of them?

The Z.O.A.'s are housed, to a large extent, in quasi-permanent public camps and are fed by the city. They get a monthly allowance: husband about $1.20, wife 75 cents, and children 20 cents each. Monthly, I said. Those who are lucky enough to find "private quarters" (where no one but a Z.O.A. would want to live) get a comparably meager living allowance. Worst of all, they are compelled to remain idle. Prospective employers are not permitted to give them regular employment because there are already about 250,000 unemployed West Berliners. The city is by no means unsympathetic, but there seems to be nothing, so far, that can be done.

The Church Tries to Help

How about the church? In every phase of service—reception, social welfare, religious counseling and resettlement assistance—the church is stirring its resources to help. Within the framework of its efforts to minister to *all* the refugees, this group of zombies presents a special problem, not only numerically but spiritually. In general, the policy of the church has been to assign neighboring pastors to the smaller camps and to put full-time workers in the big camps. (The total number of camps, both big and small, had declined from a peak of 120 in spring to 80 in July, and there are 21 full-time Christian workers engaged in various types of Christian work.) This pattern applies to the Z.O.A. camps also.

For those thousands in private quarters, Pastor Ahme has launched a gigantic personal visitation program, the purpose of which is to bring the church to the rejected refugee rather than wait until the refugee shows up at the church. It is primarily a practical contact aimed at bringing both material and moral encouragement into "homes" which are often a shocking caricature of the word.

It may be assumed that this mission of mercy is of incalculable value and importance both to the refugee family and to the morale of a heroic city. But that is certainly not enough. Shipments of food and clothing are not enough, especially if the dramatic emphasis is now placed on people who cross the border only for handouts. Months are slipping by and tens of thousands of human beings are being steadily degraded in "permanent" camps. At the

very least, they should be given the opportunity to volunteer for useful public work projects—preferably in West Germany—at which they can earn their keep.

The Z.O.A.'s must not be forgotten until it is too late to do anything about them. Nothing so grinds down the human spirit as the feeling of not being wanted. Communism has already built a world empire on its understanding of that basic truth.

BOOKS

Catholic Ireland

THE IRISH AND CATHOLIC POWER. *By Paul Blanshard. Beacon, $3.50.*

IRELAND is Exhibit A as an object lesson of what a truly Catholic nation and state should be. So many highly placed Roman Catholics have said. Bishop Fulton J. Sheen has called it "the last bastion of Christian civilization in western Europe." A former president of Fordham University, a Jesuit, finds in Ireland "a lesson in true democracy."

It is probable that in several respects Spain or Portugal would conform even more closely to the ideal of a truly Catholic state exhibiting the kind of "democracy" that is consistent with being truly Catholic, but as a model to be held up for admiration and imitation by English-speaking peoples, Ireland has the advantage of being, though somewhat reluctantly, within the English-speaking world. So Ireland is worth studying. It helps one to see what kind of control the Roman Catholic Church exercises and with what results, when it has an almost free hand.

This book arose out of the suggestion, by an Irish Jesuit who was reviewing *American Freedom and Catholic Power,* that Mr. Blanshard should consider Ireland as a "pilot model" for a future Catholic America. With his accustomed thoroughness in research, Mr. Blanshard settled down in Ireland for many months of intensive study—interviewing, observing, reading a vast quantity of periodicals, documents and records, attending public meetings, engaging in conversation with all kinds of people, and traveling in all parts of the island.

The historical background is essential if one is to understand how Ireland became the most Catholic country in the world. Blanshard's opening chapters on the tangled and turbulent political and religious history of Ireland through the past centuries are a superb summary of the forces and events. Catholics will probably like this part of the book better than the English, and especially the Anglicans, will. The only way in which one can view with any complacency the English occupation of Ireland is to think of it as a continuation of the process of westward conquest which (not to go farther back) included the coming of the Saxons to England to drive the Celts into the corners and across the channel, the coming of the Normans to subjugate the Saxons and mingle with them to produce the English people, and the extension of English rule in Ireland with fluctuating success from the 13th century.

What complicated the pattern was that the most ruthless phase of the aggression of which Ireland was the terminal victim occurred at a time when England (a) had become Protestant and (b) still maintained the medieval idea that the government ought to support one church and impose political and social disabilities on all dissenters from the official faith. So when the church of Ireland's government, overlords and absentee landowners was Protestant, while nearly all the Irish people were Roman Catholic, it was inevitable that Roman Catholicism should be identified with the cause of Irish independence and that hatred of Protestantism should become one aspect of the patriotic hatred of an alien tyranny.

From this history it seems to follow that the extreme Catholicism and anti-Protestantism of the Irish people are not without reason; but it also follows that they are an anachronism. The reasons are ancient history. It as as though the Mormons should forever hate the United States because of the persecutions they suffered in Missouri and the murder of Joseph Smith in Illinois, and the rest of us should go on hating the Mormons because of the Mountain Meadows massacre. It is more than a century since "Catholic emancipation." Living men cannot, nor could their grandfathers, remember the time when Anglican Protestantism gave any reasonable ground of offense to Irish Catholic sensibilities, but the old antipathy remains undiminished, and the issues between the Catholic south and the Protestant north help to keep it alive.

The central task to which Mr. Blanshard addresses himself in the greater part of his book is a description of the actual exercise of power by the Roman Catholic Church over the political, social and cultural life of Ireland today. This control is partly by legal and partly by extralegal means. The latter are the more important.

The constitution of 1922 provided technically for separation of church and state and for freedom of conscience and religion "subject to public order and morality." In that guarantee, "morality" was the elastic term, for it could be and has been interpreted to mean the enforcement of whatever the hierarchy declares to be the requirements of Catholic morality. Legislators and administrative officers are quite frank in saying that they take their orders from the bishops on all matters which the church considers as involving moral issues. But the constitution did guarantee freedom of worship, equal civil rights for all, including eligibility to office, and equal support for religious schools of different faiths.

The constitution of 1937—immediately after complete severance from the British crown—declared that the state "recognizes" the Presbyterian, Methodist and other churches, but also that it "recognizes the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church." Though this latter phrase has never been exactly interpreted, it is clear that, legally and constitutionally, the Roman Catholic Church does not have the kind or degree of legally protected monopoly that it enjoys in Spain and Portugal. An organization under clerical leadership, Maria Duce, is campaigning for a change in the constitution to make it "more Catholic" and to bring it into line with these dictatorships, at least in this respect.

The methods and results of extralegal methods of control over the life of the nation are, naturally, not susceptible of such brief and simple statement. They can be seen and evaluated only by observing a great number of specific incidents and local situations. Censorship, for example, is very complete though for the most part extralegal. It operates something like the Legion of Decency in America, but more effectively because Irish Catholics are more submissive and constitute a larger proportion of the population. A Catholic committee "lightens the task of the public librarian" by furnishing lists of good books to be bought and bad books to be banned; and what the committee says goes. However, the official Censorship Board does not do badly either. Since 1930 it has banned over 4,000 books and 376 periodicals. The banned books include works by Pearl Buck, Bernard De Voto, André Gide, Aldous Huxley, Sinclair Lewis, Thomas Mann, Charles Morgan, Christopher Morley, Maude Royden and Thomas Wolfe. Cultural isolation is reinforced by the patriotic appeal: "The foreign press is a national menace." The evident aim is that the Irish should read only Irish books and journals. It is easier to control literature at its source, when the source can be confined to a small area under close surveillance and subject to effective ecclesiastical discipline.

There are no public undenominational schools. Since all schools are religious, and the vast majority of them are Catholic, the "equal treatment of all schools" produces

a total educational system that is 95 per cent dominated by the priests. "The teacher must seek to Catholicize the classroom treatment of the subject" (presumably every subject), says a teachers' guide with a foreword by the Archbishop of Dublin.

A great many interesting topics in Mr. Blanshard's book must be passed over in this survey, including matters of health, sex, family life, the recruitment of priests and nuns (the majority of whom go to other countries for their service), and the case of the American Archbishop O'Hara who is now nuncio (i.e., ambassador) from the Vatican to Eire. This case was discussed by the author in an article in The Christian Century of May 6, 1953, and more may yet be heard of it. A long chapter deals with the dominance of the Irish element in American Catholicism.

An early reviewer of this book queried whether any American writer since Harriet Beecher Stowe has "stirred up so much heat and controversy" as Paul Blanshard. Well, as it happens, his middle name is Beecher. In this book, however, he sheds light more than he engenders heat. Especially he sheds light on the question as to what could very easily happen in America —and that without any change in our Constitution, but only by giving it the interpretation that some are even now trying to give it, and by the application of extra-legal pressures—if this country becomes even half as Catholic as Ireland now is.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

THE FACE OF THE CITY. *By Edith Lovejoy Pierce. Author, 930 Elmwood Ave., Evanston, Ill., $1.00.* A small brochure containing about 40 poems by one of our favorite poets. The Christian Century has had the privilege of giving first publication to many of Mrs. Pierce's poems, including some of these. The theme of her verse is often explicitly religious; but even when it is not, the spiritual note is always present.

THE GAME OF LIVING, A PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY FOR OUR TIMES. *By Floyd Van Keuren. Scribners, $2.50.* Dr. Van Keuren—a retired Episcopal clergyman and former university lecturer on sociology and director of a family case work agency—expounds persuasively a "personal philosophy" which includes practical applications of psychology, sociology, religion and even (though I think he does not use the word) metaphysics. The title suggests, at least to this reader, a superficiality from which the book is fortunately free. The likening of life to a "game" involves this fundamental fallacy—that a game is always part of a larger situation. For that reason one can be a cheerful loser in a game. When the umpire's decision is in and the score is posted, the loser can still enjoy the consciousness of having put up a good fight, the reputation of having shown good sportsmanship, and the hope of a comeback next week. Life as a whole is not like that. But there is a true, though limited, analogy, for life is like a game in having its values in itself and in not being (like work) primarily the means of attaining some end that lies beyond it. The author does not permit his analogy to lure him into any fallacies. His discussion is mature, intelligent and inspirational. (I think as little as he does of people like Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin, but I don't think the argument about attitudes toward "other people" is clarified by calling them "subhuman.")

RECREATION FOR THE AGING. *By Arthur Williams. Association Press, $3.00.* In the U.S. there are more than 12 million of us, men and women over 65, and our number is increasing by 400,000 a year. We are becoming a social problem—how to keep us gainfully employed if possible, or in any case how to keep us cheerful by some sort of occupation for our hands and minds. The latter part of this problem is the theme to which Mr. Williams, of the National Recreation Association, devotes this "activity handbook for leaders in clubs, centers, camps, churches and rural areas." It should be useful to those charged with providing group entertainment for the elderly.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA, 1953. *Columbia University Press, $2.00.* If you are lucky enough to have the 1950 second edition of the Columbia (the most useful single volume in my library), you can bring its statistical, historical, scientific and other material down to date by pasting in this 1953 supplement. Otherwise, sooner or later you will probably have to buy the whole thing at its new price, $35.00, including the supplement.

THE JEWS, JESUS AND CHRIST. *By G. George Fox. Argus Book Shop, 218 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, $2.00.* The spirit in which Rabbi Fox deals with the attitude of the Jews toward Jesus is that which we like to call "truly Christian," but which Jews may just as properly call "truly Jewish." His scholarship rests upon long study of both Jewish and Christian literature, history and contemporary thought. He indicates, as many Christian scholars have done, how intimately Jesus was related to the Hebrew tradition, so that Jews even today accept the greater part of his ethical teaching. They could not accept him as Messiah because he did not fit the pattern of the messiahship they expected and needed—a national leader and deliverer. Paul was chiefly responsible for changing Christianity from a sect within the synagogue to a separate religion with a redemption theology and a Christology alike alien to Jewish thought. As Christianity triumphed in the Roman empire it became socially and politically anti-Semitic, as it already was theologically. Contempt and mistreatment in one direction bred hatred in the other, and the result was centuries of bitterness between the two, of which some sad consequences still remain. Dr. Fox aims to eliminate the bitterness, promote mutual understanding, and define the common ground upon which there may be mutual respect and cooperation in working toward shared objectives. He does not pretend that there are agreements where they do not exist. For the greater part of Christendom, the Christian faith is a redemption religion based upon the conviction that Jesus Christ was a unique incarnation of the divine nature—or, if you want to be thoroughly Nicene about it, of the divine "substance"—and the idea that Paul rather than Jesus was the founder of historical Christianity, though strongly supported by many, has not won general acceptance. Between liberal Jews (like Dr. Fox) and liberal Christians, there is a broad ground of agreement. Between all Jews and all Christians there is an ample basis for good will and mutual respect, with some penitence for past errors on both sides.

TARBELL'S TEACHERS' GUIDE, INTERNATIONAL BIBLE LESSONS, 1954. *Edited by Frank S. Mead. Revell, $2.50.* The 49th annual volume in a justly popular series, now edited by an author widely known for his books and his contributions to religious periodicals. The commentary is helpful to all students, and the outlines and teaching plans useful to all teachers.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD. *By John Bright. Abingdon-Cokesbury, $3.75.* In reviewing this book recently (issue of Oct. 21) I made a mistake. I said that, while expounding the "new Israel" concept of the church, the author did not mention any of the authorities which take a different view of this disputable point. My statement was true of the original manuscript, which I had opportunity to read with some care before its publication and upon which I had made some written comments, including this one. So when the book appeared I did not give it a line-by-line reading but reviewed it chiefly on the basis of notes made earlier on the manuscript. It did not occur to me that these comments would reach the author, and that he would accept the suggestion and supply the omission; but they did, and he did.

SO NEAR IS GOD, ESSAYS ON THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. *By James M. Gillis. Scribners, $3.00.* Fr. Gillis, of the Paulist Fathers, penetrates some of the depths of the Christian life with careful thinking and sensitive feeling. Incidentally, he gives the open-minded reader opportunity to note how much there is that is common to the devotional life of Roman Catholics and of Protestants, in spite of some important differences in cultus, vocabulary and doctrine. In the sections, near the end, on the mass and the exaltation of the Virgin Mary, the author's eloquence, emotion and dogmatic piety fall short of being convincing to those not already convinced. His method is clearly stated in the following (and final) chapter: "Remaining in the mood of affirmation, I shall not argue, or debate, or prove or demonstrate; I shall simply declare."

W.E.G.

CORRESPONDENCE

Japan on the Road Back?

SIR: I have just finished reading the editorial "Japan Moves Toward Pre-War Policies" (Nov. 18), and I want to compliment the Century on its acute perception. Unfortunately, the story of the resurgence of Japanese militarism and reactionary government policies has not been told generally to the American public. It would appear that we are underrating a highly dangerous situation in Japan.

The return to Shintoism in Japan, mentioned in your editorial, is already under way. Willard Price in his new book, *Journey by Junk*, states: "Shinto has crept back into the curriculum and a text made mandatory by the ministry of education in all schools is openly hostile to Christianity, declaring that this religion is incompatible with Japanese traditions" (pp. 190-91).

S. M. VINOCOUR.

Washington, D. C.

Evangelism in Japan

SIR: I would like to express my appreciation for the balanced and careful reporting in Ray Jennings' correspondence from Japan, in your Nov. 4 issue, dealing with the World Evangelism Congress held in Tokyo last August under the auspices of Youth for Christ. His earlier letter reporting on the meeting of the International Council of Christian Churches in Japan was also excellent.

I would raise some question, however, regarding the accuracy of his last paragraph, which implies that the rising interest in evangelism on the part of the Christian church in Japan is in large measure due to the evangelistic emphasis and methods of Youth for Christ. The Japan National Christian Council has conducted a study of evangelism in Japan for several years, including a number of well planned conferences and resulting in a very excellent statement issued to the churches. The N.C.C. is sponsoring a centenary movement, to culminate in 1959 with the 100th anniversary of Protestant missions in Japan, in which the heart of the program is a nationwide evangelistic effort by all the Protestant churches. Dr. Kagawa is giving a great deal of his time to promoting this movement.

There are many indications that there has been a rising interest in evangelism for some time, and the writer, during a visit to Japan last spring, was impressed by the urgent need for outreach felt by Christian leaders at all levels, including local pastors. The Kyodan's recent conference on the mission of the church, which brought together 2,300 delegates (the largest delegated Christian meeting in the history of Japanese Christianity), was permeated with the consciousness of God's call to the church to preach the gospel throughout the nation. I think it would be fair to say that this increasing interest in evangelistic outreach is one of the most marked characteristics of the church in Japan today.

WALLACE C. MERWIN.

Far Eastern Joint Office,
Division of Foreign Missions,
National Council of Churches.

That Congregational Report

SIR: One fully conversant with the facts would not have written your Oct. 21 editorial regarding Congregational social action. There are issues involved in this controversy that strike at the roots of Protestantism, including the very foundation of the faith, the right of protest. The Christian Century does not clarify any of these issues by making accusations and calling names.

In effect, the editorial says that the Council for Social Action has been upheld by an impartial Board of Review and the main criticisms against it proved invalid. Further investigation will disclose that what actually happened was this: The review board of course upheld historic Congregational concern for social justice, but severely criticized the C.S.A. for its bias, its methods and its lack of responsibility to the denomination. But to evaluate the review report one must first understand what was in dispute and what was *not* in dispute. First, the areas of agreement:

1. There is agreement that Christians must be concerned with the welfare of their fellow men, and that any sincere Christian should not be indifferent to social injustice. Both the C.S.A. and its critics agree with the Board of Review's affirmation of this concern.

2. There is unanimity on another point. Congregationalism means autonomy of the individual church. Every Congregationalist will concede that no one can speak for the individual church without specific authorization from that church.

The area of agreement covered these two fundamental points. What, then, were the differences that brought the Council for Social Action under such heavy criticism? They were questions of method: *how* should Congregationalists express their social concern?

In implementing its views of social responsibility the Council for Social Action has made two major mistakes: it has engaged in political activity as an official Congregational agency, and has seemed to speak for all Congregationalists regarding controversial issues on which there was no "substantial unanimity." The Board of Review emphatically criticizes the C.S.A. for these practices. Because it has tended to identify its own political ideas with God's will, the C.S.A. has mistakenly assumed that there is necessarily a close parallel between welfare state socialism and true Christian social concern.

Moreover, the C.S.A. has been weak in what should have been its primary task—education. The Board of Review is very outspoken in its criticism of the C.S.A. on this point.

The gist of section III of the editorial is that Congregational laymen who have criticized the Council for Social Action have engaged in "vilification" and "misrepresentation," that they are reactionary and "have never developed capacity for responsible and constructive leadership." A general denial would deserve no more consideration than the editorial's uncharitable and undocumented assertions. However, if The Christian Century will specify as a misrepresentation of fact any single statement of ours, we will either prove its truth or promptly acknowledge our mistake.

As individuals and as an organization, we probably have our share of human failings, and these may well have included lack of leadership. But we cannot accept the implied view that it is disruptive to the denomination to point out wrongdoing.

Our objections to the C.S.A. have been raised because we believed that its policies were dividing the churches and, by impairing historic Congregationalism, would ultimately make impossible any real Christian action.

The Board of Review report makes it plain that Congregationalism's long-range interest requires major changes in the functioning of the Council for Social Action. Let us all hope that the necessary changes will be promptly instituted, and a united Congregationalism can move forward to accomplish its high mission.

F. A. BEAN,
Chairman.

League to Uphold Congregational Principles,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Also at Cleveland

SIR: May I express my appreciation of your report on the Fourth National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order (Nov. 11), and at the same time call your attention to one important action which was not mentioned.

Section V on "The United States and Collective Security" did something far more significant than merely to approve NATO. Its resolution on regional pacts urged that "the nonmilitary, political, social, economic and cultural aspects of these arrangements be stressed." And with special reference to NATO it said: "We urge that the United States take the lead in creating a Consultative Assembly composed of members of the legislative bodies of the NATO nations, meeting regularly to discuss problems of mutual interest, and making recommendations to the Council of NATO."

We are inclined to forget that the North Atlantic Treaty has three substantive ar-

ticles. Article 5 provides for common military action to prevent or defeat aggression. That article has been implemented, haltingly, by the creation of a military structure. Articles 2 and 3 provide for common political, economic and social action. These articles have not been implemented as yet.

The resolution of Section V, approved by the plenary session, looks toward the implementation of these nonmilitary aspects of NATO. The specific proposal of a Consultative Assembly follows the existing pattern of the Strasbourg assembly of members of parliaments of the nations of western Europe, including Great Britain. This has the support of all in the NATO countries who are committed to a closer union of the free nations of the Atlantic community. Members of the U. S. Senate and House were invited as observers to the last meeting of the Strasbourg assembly, and their attendance was authorized by Congress.

One can scarcely conceive of a more fruitful method of dealing with the common problems of the free nations than a regular meeting of representatives of their legislative bodies. This proposal may well point the way toward getting NATO off the dead center where it is now stalled. It almost certainly would tend to restore a consistent, steady, bipartisan foreign policy in the United States.

Incidentally, this proposal won the support of several who had grave conscientious scruples regarding NATO. It is unifying, not divisive. It may well be the most constructive new suggestion coming out of the Cleveland conference.

LELAND B. HENRY.

Dept. of Christian Social Relations,
Diocese of New York,
Protestant Episcopal Church.

Dr. Kraemer Disavows

SIR: I am a very appreciative reader of your journal, especially because, as a European, I find it a precious source of information and indication of contemporary American thought. I had never expected to feel prompted to write to you in this vein, but on reading the article by Philip H. Ashby, "Re-Thinking Missions Again," in your Oct. 14 number I felt a word must be said.

You will understand that with my past contact with missions and my present living interest in them I read this article with great attention, and, to my regret, have to raise a word of protest. From his article I gather that Prof. Ashby strongly disagrees with my book *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*. Now, of course, he is quite entitled to do so, and I do not object to this in the least. My protest is against the fact that he seriously misinterprets my point of view as put forward in *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*. I have no right to object to his inability to accept my point of view, and I do not do so, but I have a right to demand on simple, scientific grounds that an assistant professor of religion at Princeton University should read a book accurately and interpret it faithfully. I did not recognize my own book from Prof. Ashby's comments on it in his article, and I state emphatically that his interpretation is false.

HENDRIK KRAEMER.

Ecumenical Institute,
Céligny, Switzerland.

Anybody but a Barth!

SIR: It is unfortunate that you did not invite someone other than Markus Barth (Nov. 11) to describe the present status of Protestant church life in Europe, since, like his father, he seems unable to give an objective description but views everything through the rather peculiar tints of his theological spectacles. It happens that I have just returned from three years in Frankfurt and Geneva, where I worked in the L.W.F. refugee service. My experience would suggest that some "marginal notes" would be quite in order.

The adoption of "Roman features" that worries the author can be understood, but only if one remembers the well known Reformed antipathy (which Calvin and Knox hardly shared) for liturgical and ecclesiastical tradition. But Lutherans at least have always been familiar with bishops and are not afraid of their biblical title. Nor are they unaware that the only dictatorial heads of German *Landeskirchen* boast in their possession of the title of "president"!

There are new rules of discipline established by the churches for their members, not for the purpose of reintroducing canon law, but to do precisely the things Dr. Barth laments are not being done. Only through the establishment of such standards can a *Volkskirche* enable its members to distinguish reality from empty form. Or, to put it in another way, only so can the church of the people hope to utilize its missionary opportunity, as it has not done in the past. It is curious, too, that Barth should object to attempts to "restrain dissenting teachers and preachers" in the very same article in which he bewails the machinations of minorities in electing liberal ministers to a vacant pastorate. Does not the church have a right and even an obligation to insist that those who speak under her banner shall proclaim the truth she confesses?

Barth's comments on communism echo the line taken by Pres. Niemöller of the Hessian church. They may be right, but it should at least be pointed out that the latter was decisively rejected by the people of West Germany in the recent elections (as well as in the synod of the Church of Hesse). I know of no churchman, in Germany or elsewhere, who is tempted to the view that the ideals and achievements of the West are free from sin. But it is surely the height of softheadedness for the author to assert that "Western liberty, morality and way of living" are really "worse than the theories and some of the deeds [even though that does leave a rather large loophole!] of the Eastern potentates." Possibly there are "groups and individuals in East Germany and Berlin" who believe this, but my rather frequent contacts with those who live at or behind the iron curtain suggest that there is no place where the theories of Niemöller and his few friends are as completely and bitterly rejected as by those who know the brutal realities of Red totalitarianism.

Finally, one becomes a little weary of the false antithesis between "confessional" and "confessing." Of course one must confess that which one believes. But how can one confess if he doesn't know what he does believe? Such a person would surely resemble the famous horseman who dashed from his house, mounted his steed and "galloped off in every direction."

By all means let's have articles to acquaint American Christians with their brethren in other lands. But please make a wiser selection for their authors.

JOHN SCHMIDT.

Indianola Ev. Lutheran Church,
Columbus, Ohio.

Opportunity

SIR: May I call the attention of your readers to the program of Danforth graduate fellowships. These are intended for outstanding college seniors who are preparing themselves for college teaching and who see in this vocation their special form of Christian service. From the applications received by Feb. 15, fifty appointments will be made. Applicants will be judged on the basis of outstanding intellectual ability, personal qualities congenial to classroom teaching, and the breadth and depth of their religious conviction and their continuing search for further understanding.

The appointment of Danforth fellow is an invitation to a life relationship whereby the foundation hopes to offer encouragement to the fellow to achieve his fullest success as a Christian teacher.

The appointment as Danforth fellow may be carried along with other appointments, such as Fulbright scholar or Woodrow Wilson fellow. The one time when a candidate may apply for this appointment is in the year preceding his entrance upon graduate study.

The financial stipend which the appointment carries depends on the financial need of the candidate.

If any of the readers of The Christian Century are interested, I would suggest that they seek out the liaison officer of their undergraduate college—the dean or the president of the college can identify the liaison officer—inasmuch as applications are received only through this representative of the college and he is required to limit his nominations to two a year, or at most three a year.

KENNETH I. BROWN,
Executive Director.

Danforth Foundation,
St. Louis, Mo.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

British TV Plan Is Compromise

Advertisers May Buy Spots, but Cannot Sponsor Programs—Parish Clergy Depleted by Officialdom

LONDON, Nov. 19.—Britain's genius for compromise is demonstrated in the government's new plan for television which turns out to be a mixture of state control and private enterprise. A public corporation like the British Broadcasting Corp. is to be established to lease television stations to producers, who in turn will recoup themselves financially by selling space to advertisers. The corporation, however, will have control over the programs in order to "maintain good standards of interest and entertainment." Advertisements will be limited to four or six minutes an hour between programs. There will be no interruption of programs to plug in advertisements and no sponsoring of specific programs. Whether this limitation will dampen the advertisers' ardor for the new medium remains to be seen. Politics and religion are to have their place in the new system. The B.B.C. will continue its own television enterprise as at present.

Too Many Officers, Too Few Privates in Clergy Ranks

The recent Anglican Church Assembly concluded that there are too many "commissioned officers" and too few "privates" among the clergy. It seems that as the number of parish clergy diminishes, that of full-time church officers increases. Each of the 40 dioceses has its complement of administrators, besides holders of portfolios for education, youth and finance. In addition, there are the many societies, boards and movements, each with its staff of clerics to conduct business, speak at meetings, raise money and keep the machine going. The 12 foreign mission boards maintain staffs to carry on propaganda in Britain. The Church of England also contributes clergy to the staffs of the cooperative and ecumenical organizations, and this represents a further drain on the pool of clergymen available for the parishes.

Canterbury Sees Lund as A Step Forward

When the Lund report was presented to the Anglican Church Assembly, it received the attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He declared that the report evidenced a great step forward in a process that has been continuing for many years. When he first had contact with it, he said, the Faith and Order movement seemed to him a matter for specialists who spent their time working out constitutional schemes for reunion; but now the people in the movement talk not so much of reunion as of church relationships. The problem now appeals to the imagination as a matter not so much of controversy as of common concern. The Church Assembly agreed that the time is approaching when the Anglican church must officially formulate its position on church relations. Heretofore this has been attempted only unofficially, by individuals and groups.

Homosexuality Charges Arouse Churchmen's Concern

A number of recent convictions in the courts on charges of homosexuality have aroused British religious leaders to suggest that a royal commission be set up to investigate the problem. A member of Parliament, a famous actor, a well known author and a young peer of the realm have faced such charges recently. Pres. Donald Soper of the Methodist Conference says: "Christians should not be surprised if a mixture of paganism and national conscription have weakened the resistance of many young people to temptations which otherwise they would have resisted. . . . We have not been deceived into thinking that civilization is the same as saintliness. I may not represent all my fellow Christians . . . if I say that only a personal return to religious convictions and a cooperative repudiation of violence as a means of public policy can alter this sorry state of affairs."

British Intensify Support of Asian Christian Colleges

The concern which Britain formerly had for the Christian colleges of China has been transferred to the new Asia Christian Colleges Association which is promoting the interests of 37 higher schools in India, Pakistan, Japan, Malaya and Hongkong. At the annual meeting of the association, Charles Raven, formerly vice-chancellor of Cambridge University, said: "If we are to go to the East and present to her students the full sufficiency of Christ, we must cease to portray Christ as a 'Western gentleman.'" Fifty volunteers are being asked from Britain to staff the Asia colleges, and 11 professorial and lecturing positions have already been filled. The association helps pay travel expense, but the colleges themselves pay salaries and allowances.

And So Forth

J. Arthur Rank, head of our largest film industry, has surveyed the village near his country home at Sutton Scotney, 50 miles southwest of London, and has concluded that the afternoon is the best time for Sunday worship services. He says that men like to be at home in the morning while their wives cook Sunday dinner, and in the evenings the children must be put to bed. Mr. Rank has initiated "film services" in the village hall on Sunday afternoons. He himself gives a talk and reads the scriptures. The first film in the series, "Ruth," was presented after a talk on the meaning of the story by Mr. Rank.

Nathaniel Micklem, oldest living member of the English bar and father of Nathaniel Micklem of Oxford, celebrated his 100th birthday Nov. 20.

A Quaker Sunday morning worship meeting has been broadcast for the first time over the British radio.

Ernest Payne and Leslie Cooke have been named to lead respectively the English Baptist and Congregational delegations to the Evanston Assembly.

As part of its third jubilee celebration, the Bible Society staged a Bible exhibition in the Royal Exchange, London.

CECIL NORTHCOTT.

UNESCO Studies Church and Race

Publishes Pamphlets by Visser 't Hooft and Dominican Priest—Hasten to Aid Refugees in Trieste

GENEVA, Nov. 16.—"The churches and racial and ethnic tensions," a major theme of next summer's World Council of Churches' Assembly, is receiving attention also from secular bodies. At its Paris headquarters UNESCO is publishing a pamphlet series on the race question and modern thought, following a previous series on race and modern science. The first study on the churches, by Fr. Yves M. J. Congar of the Dominican order, is titled "The Catholic Church and the Race Question." It has received the imprimatur of ecclesiastical authorities. The second, now in the hands of the printer, is by W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World Council of Churches. It will be called "The Ecumenical Movement, the Churches and the Race Question." UNESCO has been wary of handling religious issues. However, as is pointed out in the foreword to the new series: "The problems raised by prejudice and racial discrimination also affect man's conscience . . . and it would be optimistic to think that racial conflicts could be solved simply by bringing the findings of modern scientists to the knowledge of the public. The time is ripe to state the attitude of the world's main religious and philosophic systems."

Contribute to Pre-Evanston Study Program

The two pamphlets supply data supplementary to the pre-Assembly study materials on the race problem. While both assert the unequivocal opposition of the churches, the Christian faith and Christian ethics to racialism, they also give a frank account of the gaps between Christian theory and practice. The rise of racialism, a relatively new phenomenon, is described, and the relation of the churches to it explored. Both writers give attention to the situation in South Africa, in Germany under the nazis, and in the United States.

Fellowship Based on Nature Of God's Creation

In his pamphlet for the UNESCO series Dr. Visser 't Hooft traces the growth of an ecumenical consensus on race which has led to the conclusion that the churches must first set their own house in order by ending discrimination in congregational life. Chief contribution of the ecumenical movement, he claims, is not that it has spoken on race relations, but that in ecumenical gatherings there has been a rediscovery of unrestricted fellowship as the normal relationship. The basis for such fellowship, he says, lies not in scientific knowledge about race nor in good will in itself, but in the fact that God "made from one every nation of men." Race prejudice is rebellion against God, he concludes, and it can be dispelled only by a force strong enough to overcome pride and egocentric

will-to-power, a force which makes for humility and leads to responsible action.

Seek to Alleviate Plight Of Trieste Refugees

The plight of the 4,300 refugees caught in the current explosive situation at Trieste is receiving special attention from the World Council's service to refugees. Edgar Chandler, director of the service, joined with directors of other voluntary agencies to urge evacuation of the refugees to camps in Italy. In New York, Elfan Rees, World Council adviser on refugee problems, is keeping the proper United Nations agencies informed and aware of the concern and attitude of the churches. Andrew Mouravieff, head of the refugee service's Latin America office, who was in Geneva on other matters when trouble flared up, went to Trieste at once and was able to select 500 refugees for immediate movement to Brazil. Chandler reports that governmental assurances have come from Australia, Canada, the U.S., New Zealand and elsewhere that Trieste refugees will be granted asylum. Most tragic among the refugees are the several hundred aged, sick and handicapped people—the "hard core" cases—for whom the World Council has special responsibility. Negotiations with the Swiss government and the Red Cross have resulted in an invitation for 100 of the people suffering from tuberculosis to come to Switzerland, along with 140 of their dependents. In cooperation with the Tolstoy Foundation, the World Council's refugee service this month opened a new home for aged refugees in Cannes. Ninety-two of the Trieste refugees are now in Cannes, and they will be permanently settled there under a committee representing the World Council, the Tolstoy Foundation, the French Protestant agency CIMADE, the Orthodox churches and the French government. Church World Service funds will insure their maintenance for the first three months, after which the French government will extend old-age benefits to inmates of the home.

And So Forth

Together to be His Witnesses, a study guide to the Evanston Assembly, has just been completed by Ralph D. Hyslop, who is devoting his sabbatical leave from the Pacific School of Religion to work with the World Council's study and evangelism departments here. The guide will be issued in special British and American editions, and will be available for translation and adaptation to use in Europe and Asia.

On his way to the U.S. for consultations on preparations for the Evanston Assembly, W. A. Visser 't Hooft stopped in England to deliver the 24th Burge Memorial lecture at Church House, Westminster. His lecture, "The Meaning of Ecumenical," is being published by the Student Christian Movement Press.

Carl Lund-Quist, executive secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, returned last Friday from an official visit to Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, Malaya and Hongkong.

Nelson Chappel of New York, new general secretary of the World Council of Christian Education, visited Geneva this month to consult with officers of international Christian agencies.

ROBERT B. TILLMAN.

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ABINGDON-COKESBURY PRESS

Catholics Attack Bill on Divorce

Brazilian Cardinal Threatens Fight if Law Is Passed—'Experts' Say No Religious Crisis Exists

São Paulo, Brazil, Nov. 2.—Cardinal Carmelo of São Paulo announced recently that if Brazil passes the proposed law sanctioning divorce it will find the Roman Catholic Church arrayed in battle against the government. The statement aroused wide controversy. In the legislative assembly of Rio Grande do Sul state Deputy Vilson Vargas made a speech criticizing the cardinal's attitude. Editor Paulo Duarte of the cultural magazine *Anhemby,* published here, joined in the dissent. On the other hand Fr. Calazans, Roman Catholic priest who is a deputy in the São Paulo municipal assembly, declared in a lecture on "The Return to the Gospel" that it is not enough for the church to take political action against divorce. What is needed, he said, is "real Catholics" who practice their religion—and such Catholics are but a small minority. The great majority of Brazil's Catholics, he said, merely have "diplomatic relations" with the church on "social occasions" such as baptisms, weddings and funerals.

Sees Nation at Ebbtide Religiously

The important magazine *Visão* (Vision) recently printed the replies of a Catholic bishop, a Protestant minister, a spiritualist leader and a rabbi to the question it had put to them, namely, whether there is a "religious crisis" in Brazil today. The bishop answered No, saying that his church is "present in every key position in the country" and has plans for enlarging its influence in the political and social spheres. The Protestant minister answered by saying that his denomination (Baptist) reaches more people than any other church in Brazil, while the spiritualist declared that "spiritualism is always receiving new adherents." Only the rabbi acknowledged that the state of religion here is not altogether satisfactory; but that is a problem that is not confined to Brazil, but is found everywhere in the world, he added. Unconvinced by these spokesmen, the editor of *Visão* commented that, whatever the external appearances, they "cannot conceal the sad truth that our people are only nominally and statistically religious" and that they are not led by their faith to "abandon the evil paths that lure them." "Brazilians are much more interested in entertainment and in automobiles and refrigerators than in religion," he concluded.

Institute of Religious Culture Holds Annual Meeting

Delegates from several of our states came to São Paulo in August for the annual conference of the Institute of Religious Culture, held in one of the public schools. Present also were many people of this city, along with the governor of São Paulo state, the municipal secretary of justice and the dean of the University of São Paulo. On motion of Camillo Ashcar, Protestant deputy, the state legislative assembly unanimously adopted a message commending the institute. In his speech Dr. Ashcar said that in the 15 years of its existence the institute's work for moral renewal has borne fruits "which may be seen throughout the whole country." It was the obligation of the assembly, he said, to stimulate such endeavors as the institute, which supplement governmental action and help build a better nation.

Institute Operates 37 Branches

The widely respected Institute of Religious Culture was founded by Miguel Rizzo, the liberal Presbyterian minister who is editor of *Unitas,* influential nondenominational Protestant journal published in São Paulo. Now operating through 37 branches scattered over Brazil, the institute has as its main purpose the preaching of a "positive" Christianity without theological implications. It is, says its founder, a "Christ-centered" movement intended to appeal particularly to people outside the churches.

Baptist Minister Defends Huberto Rohden

A liberal Baptist minister, Dr. Bretones, has come to the defense of Huberto Rohden, former Catholic priest who lost some of his following among Protestants who had formerly admired him when his recent book, *Metaphysics of Christianity,* appeared. That book denied that man is by nature evil and was somewhat critical of churches as institutions. (See The Christian Century for Sept. 23, p. 1085.) Dr. Bretones analyzes a still more recent book by Dr. Rohden, *Problems of the Spirit* (issued by the publishing firm headed by Dr. Rizzo of *Unitas*). He insists that Rohden is misunderstood, that what he is doing is simply trying not to conceal the shortcomings of the church as a "human" institution. "Rohden points out that Roman Catholics must accept blindly what their ecclesiastical officials decree as divine revelation," he says. "On the other hand, Evangelicals are compelled to accept as divine revelation the theology devised by Bible scholars or exegetes. Dr. Rohden is pointing out the faults of the human church—the body—in order to exalt the divine church—the soul. Never must the body of the church be permitted to contaminate or kill the soul."

Mackay, Piper Visit São Paulo

Pres. John Mackay and Prof. Otto Piper of Princeton Theological Seminary visited São Paulo recently. Dr. Mackay gave addresses at the Presbyterian seminary and church and in the normal school. His topic was the contemporary situation in the light of Christianity. *Christianismo,* liberal theological quarterly published here, praised Dr. Mackay's address highly. It will be printed in *Testimonium,* the new review published in both Portuguese and Spanish by Students of Latin America, which is affiliated with the World's Student Christian Federation. Unfortunately, while Dr. Piper was here he was the victim of an attack by the *Fundamentalist,* a conservative Protestant journal, which condemned him as a "modernist."

João Del Nero.

Graham Crusade Draws 363,030

Evangelist and Team Conduct Five-Week Series in Detroit—Join Council in Reformation Festival

Detroit, Nov. 24.—In their five-week Detroit crusade, Evangelist Billy Graham and his team drew a total attendance of 363,030 to a specially erected 12,000-seat auditorium on the state fair grounds. On many occasions the audience overflowed the space; one Sunday afternoon 20,000 were crowded in. The campaign resulted in 6,980 decisions, 58 per cent of which were first commitments to the Christian life. Of those who responded, 87 per cent indicated a local church preference, 6 per cent a denominational preference, and only 7 per cent no preference. A follow-up is seeking to relate these people to the churches. Chairman of the committee sponsoring the crusade was Warner R. Cole, pastor of Covenant Baptist Church, with Allan MacLachlan Frew, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, as cochairman. Both are active in the city's ecumenical life. Edward T. Darling, local Youth for Christ director, served as secretary. A majority of the executive committee members were laymen and ministers active in the work of the local church council, which, while not the official sponsoring body, did endorse the crusade.

Detroit Impressed by Graham Team

Civic, ministerial and lay groups whose regular meetings were addressed by Billy Graham during the crusade were favorably impressed. The evangelist condemned ministers who attack fellow ministers who disagree with them, urged a greater degree of Christian cooperation and unity, and pleaded for loyalty to the church as the real ongoing center of Christian activity. Although it is too early for a long-range appraisal of the campaign, several facts are clear. Graham and his team won the respect of their coworkers here for their honesty, generosity, humility and sincerity. All business dealings were scrupulously aboveboard. A budget of about $150,000 was raised, largely through offerings, and churches were not pressured for gifts.

Graham Committee, Church Council Join in Reformation Festival

On Oct. 25 the Detroit council of churches joined the Graham committee in sponsoring the city's annual Reformation festival, which brought 42,000 to Briggs stadium despite the chilly weather. The featured speaker was Dean James A. Pike of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York city. A chorus of 3,000 voices provided special music. Protestant Episcopal Bishop Richard S. Emrich, head of the local council of churches, presided. The festival ceremonies were followed by an evangelistic sermon by Dr. Graham.

N.C.C. Laymen's Unit Meets

The layman's viewpoint on what the course of religion in America should be

was explored at the annual meeting here Nov. 5-8 of the 300-member board of managers of the National Council of Churches' general department of United Church Men. At a dinner given by Protestant men of Detroit, local unit of the organization, citations for "distinguished service" were awarded to Pres. Eisenhower, Wilbur S. Barnhart, principal of George Washington high school, Indianapolis, and Ray W. Labbitt, prominent Detroit Methodist layman and first president of the local laymen's group. Principal speakers at the various sessions were H. Roe Bartle of Kansas City and Wilbur LaRoe of Washington, D. C.

Churches, Police Group Join In 'Traffic Safety Sunday'

The Detroit council of churches joined the local police department's traffic safety association in observing Nov. 15 as Traffic Safety Sunday. Under the slogan "Every life is sacred," clergymen preached sermons, issued bulletin statements and distributed literature on traffic safety. Spurred by the local church council, Roman Catholics and Jews also cooperated in the program. Radio, television and press supported the observance. The churches, often impelled by conscience to disapprove the actions of public officials, were happy for an opportunity to unite wholeheartedly with them in a worthy cause. In spite of its abnormally rapid growth and the consequent congestion, Detroit is second among large cities this year in traffic safety. For many years it stood first; now it aspires to regain that distinction.

Establish Project in Family Life Education

A two-year grant from a private fund has enabled the Detroit council of churches to establish a project in family life education. Donald F. Schroeder of Flint, Mich., has been called to direct the new project. He will work under the guidance of the family life committee, which is related jointly to the council's social service and religious education departments. Sheldon L. Rahn, director of the social service department, will give general supervision to the work. The program will expand the Detroit marriage clinic for engaged couples, develop informal field meetings where ministers will discuss pastoral counseling, provide consultation with denominational religious education officials for the purpose of integrating family life education into the main stream of church school activity, and set up graduate university courses in counseling and referral methods for ministers.

Chart Further Cooperation Among Michigan Churches

The Michigan council of churches sponsored a conference on comity and church planning Nov. 9-10 at Michigan State College's Kellogg center. It brought together leaders of various denominations to consider the need for cooperation to the end that Michigan's churches may minister more adequately to all the people. Particular attention was given to the need to serve more effectively the sparsely settled areas of the state and the thousands of tourists who pour into Michigan in the summer. Heading the conference was Harold N. Skidmore, chief executive of the

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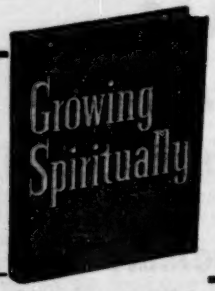

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Congregational Christian churches of Michigan and chairman of the state council's comity committee. Other leaders were Hermann N. Morse, home missions expert for the National Council of Churches and the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Donald F. Pielstick, executive director of the N.C.C. department of town and country church; Prof. Paul Miller of Michigan State College; and John Gray, publicity director for the Michigan tourist council.

Says Industry Has No Quarrel With Churches' Views

"Industry would have no quarrel with the social pronouncements of the National Council of Churches regarding the rights of both employer and worker to organize for collective bargaining and the obligations of both to work together for the common good," Thomas E. Reid, director of civic affairs for the Ford Motor Co., told the 250 members of the Detroit pastors' union who for their November meeting were guests of the automobile firm. Mr. Reid pointed out that through the Ford Motor Co. fund and the Ford Foundation help has been given to more than 50 hospitals in 14 states, to educational institutions in 16 states, to the University of Michigan for peacetime atomic research, to community funds in many cities, to the Red Cross, to welfare and health organizations, to scholarship funds for children of Ford employees, to driver training programs, and to studies on civil rights and on disarmament through the United Nations. At its next meeting, the pastors' union, which is affiliated with the Detroit council of churches, will be guests of the U.A.W.-C.I.O.

And So Forth

Russell S. Hubbard, suffragan bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Michigan, has accepted appointment as missionary bishop of Spokane, Wash.

Clyde Yarbrough, pastor of Second Congregational Church, Newton Centre, Mass., succeeds Charles Haven Myers as minister of North Woodward Congregational Church here.

At the recent annual meeting of the Michigan Baptist convention in Adrian, Ralph T. Andem was honored for his 25-year service as executive secretary.

Efforts to pass fair employment practices legislation in Michigan, which have had hard sledding, received a boost recently when such legislation was endorsed by the state bar association.

Detroit's "torch drive," a once-for-all effort to obtain support for 150 agencies, set a record this year for charity campaigns of this kind. It raised $13,506,452 —103 per cent of the goal and 7.1 per cent over 1952. G. MERRILL LENOX.

Issue Pamphlet on Interfaith Marriage

Fulfilling a request by the Evangelical and Reformed General Synod of 1950 for a statement on the problem of interfaith marriage and recommended procedures for guidance on such marriages, the denomination's commission on Christian social action has issued a pamphlet, *Interfaith Marriage*. Copies may be ordered at 5 cents each, or 25 for $1, from the commission at 2969 W. 25th St., Cleveland 13.

Launch Program On Use of Bible

N.C.C.'s First Regional Drive Begins in Southwest—World Neighbors, Inc., Holds Annual Meeting

OKLAHOMA CITY, Nov. 23.—The first regional phase of the National Council of Churches' new program on understanding and use of the Bible was launched in Oklahoma City Oct. 15. Philip C. Landers of the New York office spent three days here getting the program under way. It is considered significant that the region where the program had its inception is the "Bible belt," where the Bible is generally supposed to be widely used. Earl N. Kragnes, for four years associate minister of Crown Heights Christian Church here, is associate director for the southwest region, which comprises Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas. The area office is in Oklahoma City. The work in Oklahoma will be tied in with the program of the state council of churches.

World Neighbors, Inc., Holds Annual Meeting

Announcing that "deeds rather than words" is the policy of World Neighbors, Inc., Roy A. Burkhart, minister of First Community Church, Columbus, Ohio, who is president of the worldwide organization, addressed a large audience at the annual meeting Oct. 29 in St. Luke's Methodist Church here. Recognizing the wide interest the movement has inspired in this area, Mayor Allen Street proclaimed Oct. 29 World Neighbors Day. Dr. Burkhart described the six projects World Neighbors has under way in Egypt, India and the Philippines, where technically trained Americans work at the village level to assist and instruct natives in public health, industry, child care and literacy programs. Members of the Oklahoma City chapter recalled that it was at St. Luke's that the idea for World Neighbors was born—in a sermon of challenge preached by John L. Peters in 1951. At that time Dr. Peters was professor of religion at Oklahoma City University. He is now executive vice-president of World Neighbors, with headquarters at Columbus, Ohio.

Says Some Churches Are Among Public Schools' Enemies

Among the speakers whose addresses created most comment at the annual meeting here Oct. 29-30 of Oklahoma's public school teachers was Prof. Harl R. Douglass of the University of Colorado's college of education. He charged that it is the church groups which do not believe in public schools that are responsible for many of the false rumors that such schools are doing a poor job, that their teachers and courses tend to be "pinkish," and that they are atheistic. He held that the churches which have built more and more schools in prosperous times now must "sell parochial schools to parents." Dr. Douglass said also that many "subversive organizations" make "a great deal of money" out of planting the idea that the schools are full of "pinks," and pointed out that

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we are "living in a period of rumors and mccarthyism when the charge is more important than the evidence." "Enemies of the public schools are taking advantage of this situation," he said. At the top of the list of "enemies" Dr. Douglass placed persons "primarily concerned with keeping taxes down regardless of consequences." To meet growing needs, he said, taxpayers will have to raise the present annual spending for public schools from $7 billion to $10 billion. He challenged parents to become more concerned about the programs of their schools. Fifteen thousand teachers attended the annual meeting—an all-time record.

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Kalas Addresses Reformation Festival

Harry Kalas, associate executive secretary of the National Council of Churches' Division of Christian Education, addressed the Reformation festival held under the auspices of the Oklahoma City council of churches at the municipal auditorium Nov. 1. Speaking on "The Church and the Word of God," he appealed for cooperation at a time when division is being everywhere encouraged, and declared that none of us should try to "go it alone religiously." A colorful procession of clergy representing more than 60 of the city's religious institutions preceded the opening of the service. The massed choir was made up of 200 singers from the participating churches. The size of the audience encouraged those Protestant groups which are working diligently for cooperative efforts in Oklahoma City.

State Council Active Despite Lack of Paid Staff

Demonstrating that progress can be made in spite of financial difficulties, the Oklahoma council of churches is carrying on a number of worthwhile projects without a paid staff. At a meeting of the executive committee Oct. 9, reports were heard of a proposed social center for Indians in Oklahoma City, which is being cosponsored by the Protestant Indian Council; of the youth work institute held recently by the department of Christian education in cooperation with a team of leaders from the National Council of Churches; and of publication by the same department of a pamphlet listing available materials on family life. At the Oct. 9 meeting the council officially took over the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) as its Church World Service project.

And So Forth

Guy C. Tetirick, executive secretary of the Tulsa council of churches, reports that the opening this fall of the weekday religious education program being carried on in the city's elementary schools was greeted with unprecedented enthusiasm. He says that principals and teachers in the 12 schools where the program is being offered are most cooperative. Religious education courses are also being offered in Central and Will Rogers high schools.

Methodist Bishop William C. Martin of Dallas, president of the National Council of Churches, was the main speaker at the annual dinner of the Tulsa council of churches, held Oct. 19 at First Christian Church. Mrs. James D. Wyker, president of the N.C.C. department of United Church Women, spoke at the same church Nov. 1.

The Tulsa council of churchwomen observed World Community Day Nov. 6, with Mrs. J. Quinter Miller of Tuckahoe, N. Y., as guest speaker. Featured speaker at the Oklahoma City observance was Dean R. R. Oglesby of Oklahoma A. & M. College, Stillwater.

Tulsa's newest religious television program is entitled "Truth for Today." It features scriptural readings and interviews with outstanding persons in the field of religion.

J. CLYDE WHEELER.

Debate Civic Problems

National Municipal League Sponsors a Conference on Government

RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 23.—The National Municipal League's national conference on government held the center of interest in Virginia Nov. 8-11. Addresses and panel discussions dealt mainly with the responsibility of citizenship. Sessions, held at the Hotel Jefferson here, were open to the public. In addition, there were a "1775 Virginia Convention" at St. John's Church, with a re-enactment of Patrick Henry's famous address, a meeting of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, a "charter" clinic, a meeting of the Proportional Representation League, and a discussion on youth in civic affairs. More than 500 delegates, many of them authorities in the fields of government under consideration, participated in the conference.

Question Wisdom of Supplanting Federal Programs

Three speakers questioned the competence of state governments to take over if the federal government abandons its programs. Paul V. Betters, executive director of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, said he doubted that much good will come out of the proposed new national commission on intergovernmental relations, for it is "stacked" so far as city representation is concerned. He asserted that the federal government has spent more money supporting the price of potatoes than on furthering slum clearance in cities. He criticized the proposal, advanced by some state governments, that the federal government abandon its two-cent gasoline tax. "Can you imagine what kind of national network of highways we would have if each state were to construct its highways wherever it pleased?" he asked. "Actually, what this proposal comes down to is that the states want to get their hands on the revenues from the two-cent federal tax and spend it as they see fit. Fortunately, most mem-

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bers of Congress see through this maneuver."

Corruption Not the Only Evil to Be Fought

It was generally agreed that opposition to corruption should not be the only motivation for organization of citizens' groups. In the discussion of "The Newspaper as a Civic Force," Editor Fritz S. Updike of the Rome, N. Y., *Daily Sentinel* declared that participation in civic affairs is "just plain good business" for newspapers. He said he considers it his duty to propose editorially what he thinks is best for his town, and to support good men for local office regardless of party affiliation. "In the past six years we haven't lost a single cause, but we've lost a lot of candidates," he remarked. John B. Gage, former mayor of Kansas City, recounted that when the reform group which broke the grip of the Pendergast machine there drafted him to run for mayor, he summoned 150 businessmen and told them he must have their support. Some of them had their taxes raised after the reform government got in, he said, but they continued to support it.

Citizenship Implies Participation

In the "youth in civic affairs" discussion, Dick Howard of the University of Richmond said: "Merely giving 18-year-olds the vote will not create civic responsibility. Citizenship is not only a case of voting. It's participation in all civic affairs, and plenty of those who have the vote are not responsible citizens." In the panel on "Governing the Nation's Capital," F. Joseph Donohue, formerly a District of Columbia commissioner, called for home rule for the district's 863,000 residents. He said that so far as voting rights are concerned, they are treated much like "adjudicated lunatics, criminals and aliens."

And So Forth

The 145 bishops who represent the 75 Protestant Episcopal dioceses in the United States and 28 missionary districts held a meeting in Williamsburg Nov. 9-13. [See The Christian Century for Dec. 2, p. 1379.] Bishop Henry I. Louttit of the South Florida diocese, chairman of the denomination's armed forces division, pleaded for help in supplying 35 more Episcopal chaplains for the armed forces. Noting that we can expect to have several million men in uniform for the next 20 years, he pointed out that those men "will be exposed to every kind of vicious temptation" and that furnishing chaplains to serve them is an urgent necessity.

Edward H. Pruden, minister of First Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., addressed the Richmond ministerial association Oct. 28 on "Religion in the Nation's Capital." F. W. BURNHAM.

Church of Finland Changes Voting Rules

At its meeting in October, the General Synod of the Church of Finland voted to permit each church member to have only one vote. According to old church law, persons over 40 years of age and those married for more than 10 years had been granted "bonus" votes. The synod also decided to lower the voting age in church elections from 24 to 21.

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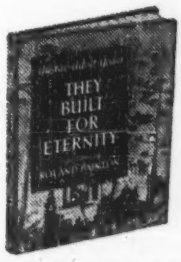

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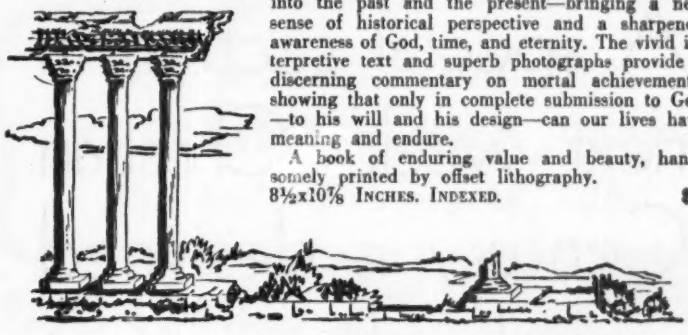

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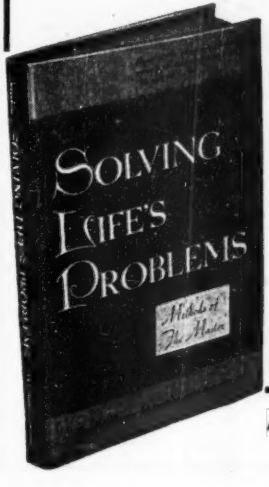

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Filipinos Hopeful Of Better Days

Magsaysay's Victory Seen as Triumph for Democracy—Churches Hold Family Life Conference

MANILA, Nov. 16.—The overwhelming victory of the coalition of the Nationalist and Democratic parties over the Liberal party headed by Pres. Quirino has brought rejoicing throughout the Philippines. Not only does Ramon Magsaysay, Quirino's former defense minister and a national idol, now come to the presidency, but the coalition is put in control of the congress. The remarkably clean, peaceful and orderly election represents a triumph for the democratic process in the Far East. Most observers believe the landslide victory will result in fresh and vigorous leadership in fighting the Hukbalahap unrest with social reform as well as bullets, in stronger bonds and cooperation with the United States, in a greater degree of religious freedom, in less corruption, in a weakening of the influence of the aristocracy and less dictatorship in government—in short, in a change for the better throughout the country. On the other hand, some people fear that the military will now have more influence in the government and that seasoned politicians like Laurel and Recto will exercise control over the new president.

Philippine Churches Sponsor Family Life Conference

The Philippine Federation of Christian Churches and the International Missionary Council sponsored an East Asia family life conference at Central Church here Nov. 2-16. Special emphasis in the sessions on "The Christian Family in Changing East Asia" was on leadership training designed to prepare delegates to return to their own countries to train other leaders in Christian family life work. Irma Highbaugh, I.M.C. field representative in the area of the Christian home and family, met with the planning committee during her recent visit here. (In Burma for the past year, Dr. Highbaugh is now working in Malaya.) The federation's home and family life department is carrying on an effective program under the leadership of Ortha Lane. It has sponsored five successful area conferences, the most recent in Davao City, Mindanao. Codeans of the East Asia conference were Rev. and Mrs. Samuel Catli of Manila. Mr. Catli is director of Christian education for the federation. Mrs. Catli is president of the women's association of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines and teaches religious education at Union Theological Seminary here.

Seventh-Day Adventists Hold Laymen's Congress

The Seventh-Day Adventists held their first north Philippines laymen's congress at Baguio recently, with over 500 delegates and guests present. Simple and practical suggestions featured the workshops on welfare and on neighborhood evangelism. F. A. Pratt, secretary of the home missionary department of the denomination's Far East division, declared in his keynote address

that "we do not have a right to witness to others until we have first become Christians in our own homes." The Adventists have one of the largest and most modern printing presses in this area.

Minister to New Settlers In Mindanao

Settlers are still pouring into the frontier regions of Mindanao at the rate of 2,000 a month. Their problems are many. Not one piece of land in 30 has a clear title. Simple, ignorant settlers are too often cheated by the unscrupulous. There are many squatters. Transportation is limited. Medical service outside the large cities is practically nonexistent. In some sections rats have eaten 90 per cent of the harvest. Among the 65 religious groups working in Mindanao, the Seventh-Day Adventists are remarkable for their aggressive program of evangelism. In central Mindanao they have purchased 2,500 acres. The have a high school and college and are making plans for a hospital. Perhaps the strongest program, however, is that carried on by the Christian Missionary Alliance, which has 120 congregations and a Bible training school with 110 students. The United Church of Christ in the Philippines, the Methodists, the Free Methodists, the Southern Baptists and the Pilgrim Holiness group are also very active. The Roman Catholic Church has established high schools in the 12 most important towns, spending from $50,000 to $100,000 in each center.

And So Forth

Dwight Stevenson, head of the homiletics department at the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky., is spending six months of his sabbatical leave as a guest professor at Union Theological Seminary here. He is also working with the Philippine Federation of Christian Churches and with Disciples of Christ groups.

Charles T. Leber of the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Board of Foreign Missions and the (U.S.) National Council of Churches addressed various groups in Manila and Dumaguete recently. He suggested that we drop the word "missionary" and use instead "fraternal worker."

Orient Crusades, which has representatives in Formosa, Okinawa and Hongkong, has initiated an active program in the Philippines. According to a recent report, its Bible correspondence course has reached about 5,000 persons, of whom 42 per cent faithfully follow a nine-month free study course. Charles Holsinger, former all-America football star, is now executive secretary of the Philippine Youth Crusades.

In August, the Philippine secretary of justice ruled that public school teachers may teach religion outside of school hours and off school premises. (See The Christian Century for Jan. 14, p. 57.)

Dr. and Mrs. Hugh Bousman, for the past 25 years Presbyterian missionaries in the Philippines, were warmly welcomed when they stopped over in Manila en route to their new assignment in Indonesia. Writing in the *Philippine Christian Advocate*, they explained that while the United Church of Christ in the Philippines has some 100 missionaries to serve 100,000 members, there is not a single American missionary for 800,000 members in an area served by cooperating churches in Indonesia. This, they said, is why they are going to Indonesia. [A news dispatch brings word of Dr. Bousman's death in Manila Nov. 26.—Ed.]

George Earle Owen.

Negro Student Dismissed

Louisiana State University Acts After Court Sets Aside Injunction

New Orleans, Nov. 24.—Acting on the advice of its attorneys, Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge has canceled the registration of A. P. Tureaud, Jr., first Negro undergraduate to enroll there. Tureaud was admitted for the fall term after he had won an injunction suit against the university (see The Christian Century for Sept. 16 and Oct. 21). However, that injunction was set aside when the appeals court in a 2-1 decision reversed the ruling on a technicality, holding that the case should have been sent to a court of three judges. In his minority opinion, Appeals Judge Richard T. Rives held that the case presented a purely factual question that did fall within the jurisdiction of the district judge. He added: "The complaint in this case did not challenge segregation *per se*. It was framed upon the assumption that, under the present state of the law, segregation is valid if equal facilities are provided. Instead, the complaint charged that the facilities provided were unequal and such as to discriminate against the plaintiff." After he left the Louisiana State

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campus, Tureaud asked the U.S. Supreme Court to review the case. Now that court has said that the lower court order voiding Tureaud's admission may not be put into effect until the high court can rule on his appeal. Asked whether his son plans to re-enter the school, Tureaud, Sr., an attorney, stated that before he could reply he would have to read the Supreme Court decision and confer with other lawyers.

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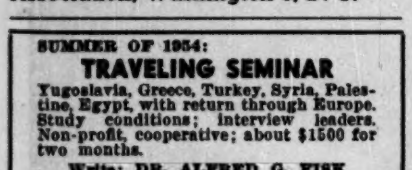
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To Survey Presbyterian Colleges

Dean Roger P. McCutcheon, head of the graduate school of Tulane University here, has been appointed to conduct a survey of financial and educational programs at Presbyterian schools in North Carolina. His primary responsibility will be to the North Carolina Presbyterian, U.S., synod. Harold J. Dudley, general secretary of the synod, says that the survey will attempt to establish criteria of higher education for religious institutions in the United States. It will also seek to determine the place of the church in relation to financial, curricular and other aspects of the educational program. Findings of the survey, which is to be financed by the Ford Foundation, will be available to other church schools.

Challenges Parents to Help Eradicate Delinquency

Highlight of the annual home missions institute sponsored recently by the New Orleans council of churchwomen at First Presbyterian Church came when Robert Jamieson of Harahan Methodist Church challenged parents to understand and combat delinquency in the New Orleans area. The juvenile problem is acute, he said, because parents have been derelict to their responsibilities. Jamieson, who has worked in this field locally, cited cases of juvenile violence, drunkenness, crime and perversion here and in other cities. Discussing basic causes he said: "We seem to have intelligence enough to put a lock on our doors to keep out the robber who would steal our valuables and the murderer who would snuff out our precious lives. Yet we allow to enter through radio and television that which steals character and murders morality."

And So Forth

In a recent conference with the New Orleans committee for international students, Ruth H. Purkaple of New York city, program director of the National Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, declared that the greatest problem facing students from abroad is loneliness. She quoted one student as saying: "Americans are very friendly, but few of them know how to be real friends." Mrs. Purkaple said that foreign students want more than anything else to be accepted informally in American homes.

Arguments continue in the controversy over the proposal by Magnolia Park, Inc., to introduce night harness racing in Jefferson parish. (See Christian Century issues cited above.) Meanwhile, in district court Judge Walter B. Hamlin has denied the injunction brought against the track and the state racing commission by 69 property owners, two churches and a school. A star witness for the track, J. Folse Roy, a real estate operator, noted that sites are being sought near the proposed track for a Catholic church and school and a public school. "Location of the track means nothing to Archbishop Rummel's advisers," he said. The case will be carried to the state supreme court.

VANCE GEIER.

Dutch Question 'Apartheid' Role

At South African Conference on Race Relations, Reformed Leader Urges Reassessment

HEALDTOWN, C. P., SOUTH AFRICA, Nov. 20.—By far the most important religious event to occur in South Africa in many months was the conference on race relations called at Pretoria this month by the Dutch Reformed Church's federal missionary council. More than 150 delegates and observers from 29 churches and missionary societies considered the "application of Christian principles in our multiracial land." The conference—all white—was intended to prepare the way for a larger, interracial conference to be held next year. Papers were read by leading representatives of the Afrikaans- and English-speaking churches. They explored to what extent fundamental Christian principles have been applied in South Africa, what obstacles lie in the way of their further application, what part whites and nonwhites can play in that application, and how the Afrikaans- and English-speaking, white and nonwhite sections of the country can cooperate in the common task.

Dutch Reformed Professor Questions Validity of 'Apartheid'

As was to be expected, Anglican, Methodist, Congregational and other church representatives opposed the *apartheid* (segregation) policy approved by the Malan government. The surprise came, however, when they were joined by certain Dutch Reformed clergymen. Opening the conference, Prof. B. B. Keet of the (Dutch Reformed) Stellenbosch Theological Seminary stated that there is no proof that *apartheid* is the ideal or that there is nothing better. "What may seem satisfactory in practice today may be detrimental under changed conditions tomorrow," said Prof. Keet. "For that reason we must seek to open doors, not to close them. . . . We do not know how long it will be before all discrimination on the ground of color will have disappeared. But we do know that we are moving along the right lines." The only alternative, he said, is to proceed along the lines of ever-increasing estrangement.

Time for Church to Restate Application of Gospel

Prof. Keet declared that if it is true that the state has followed the lead of the church in formulating its *apartheid* policy, then it is time for the church, in accordance with the principles of the gospel, to lead the state in the direction of unity. This does not mean, he said, that there should be immediate equality; it might be dangerous now to give privileges which might be misused. But neither does it mean perpetual subordination. "Is it really a conflict of color, or must we see it as a conflict of values in which the opposing groups are not whites and nonwhites, but Christian civilization against barbarism—a conflict in which white and nonwhite stand side by side . . .?" he asked. "I refuse to

believe that it is beyond the range of possibility for our statesmen to devise ways and means whereby their inalienable rights can be secured for all without endangering the preservation of our spiritual heritage."

Reassert Anglican Church's Multiracial Nature

The statement issued by the Anglican bishops at the recent meeting of the Episcopal Synod has called forth wide commendation. "The only national policy which is morally defensible must be that which gives the fullest opportunity of development to the members of all racial groups," said the bishops. "It is morally wrong to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of any particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority . . . We believe that racial discrimination as it is practiced in this country is directed to this end." The individual's character and ability, not his race, should be the test, the bishops added. They do not believe it possible to keep different racial groups separated and yet give to each equal opportunities for economic and cultural development. Education for Africans, they insisted, must have the same aim as education for Europeans—to help them render the best service to the nation that their native abilities make possible. The bishops recognize that racial discrimination as practiced in any country raises moral issues on which Christian opinion throughout the world should make itself heard. But they deprecate the tendency to isolate South Africa in this matter, and point out that expressions of moral indignation directed against this country alone are likely to arouse a sense of unfairness among our people, including those of good will.

Individual Anglican Bishops Speak Their Minds

Individual Anglican bishops are also being heard on the racial question. Speaking at a special thanksgiving service in connection with the centenary of the diocese of Grahamstown, Geoffrey Clayton, archbishop of Cape Town, said that racial tension has led South Africans to become "hagridden by fear and suspicion." Noting that those in authority will do their best to hinder any organization, secular or religious, which is multiracial, he declared that the Anglican church's multiracial nature is the very essence of its being. "In the church there should be no fear, for [there] God reigns," he said. Bishop Ambrose Reeves of Johannesburg was in the news recently for his remarks to his own synod and to a meeting called by the South African Trades and Labor Council to protest the government's recent Suppression of Communism act. Bishop Reeves said that those in authority have shown signs of using the new act to paralyze legitimate activities of certain sections of organized labor. "European" trade unions, for instance, are being deprived of effective leadership through the "naming" of a number of their officials under provisions of the act. The fact that leaders who have been removed from their positions have no right of appeal to the courts adds to the misgivings aroused by application of the new legislation. The effectiveness of the trade unions is also being threatened, Bishop Reeves said, by the determination of the authorities to ignore native unions. He declared that the deliberate setting up of alternative machinery to deal with just those matters for which the trade unions exist is bound to reduce the unions to impotence. "Communism cannot be rooted out by act of parliament, nor can it be beaten by using its own tactics," Bishop Reeves concluded.

Methodists Say 'Apartheid' Does Not Apply to 'Body of Christ'

At its recent annual conference, the Methodist Church of South Africa issued a statement noting with "grave concern" the continued deterioration of race relationships. In particular, it deplored the ignoring of the sacredness of personality and the potentiality of men and women as individuals through legislative implementation of the *apartheid* principle. The statement declared that any benefit to any racial group which might be held to accrue from the current application of *apartheid* is more than offset by the resentment and sense of frustration aroused in those whose destiny is decided by acts of a legislative body in which they have no effective representation. Speaking for an interracial church, the conference held that the church is being called in these days "to demonstrate to the world the power and spirit of a multiracial fellowship . . . based on the unity which results from common membership of the living body of Christ, which knows no racial barriers." The Methodist statement also pointed out that again and again the government has found it necessary to amend its own *apartheid* legislation, and noted that such amendment constitutes a tacit admission on the part of the government that the non-European is already an integral part of South Africa's population and an essential element in the union's economy.

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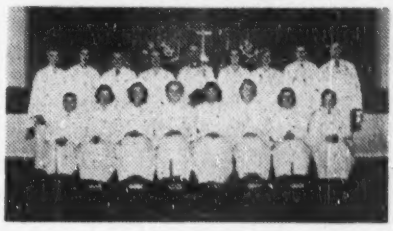

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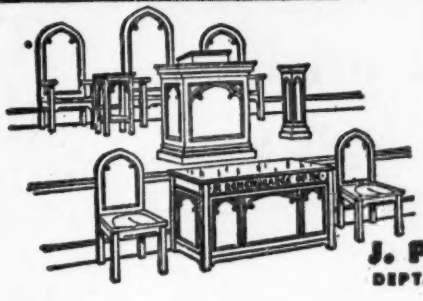

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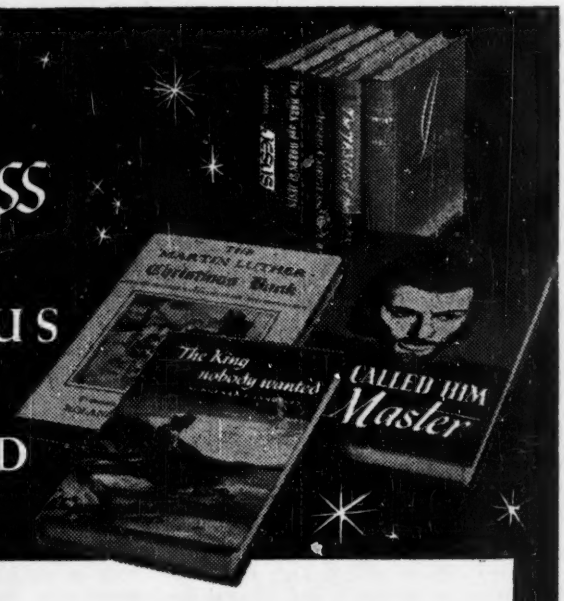

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